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NUMBER XVIII

TRACTS ON LIBERTY, 1638-1647

IN THREE VOLUMES

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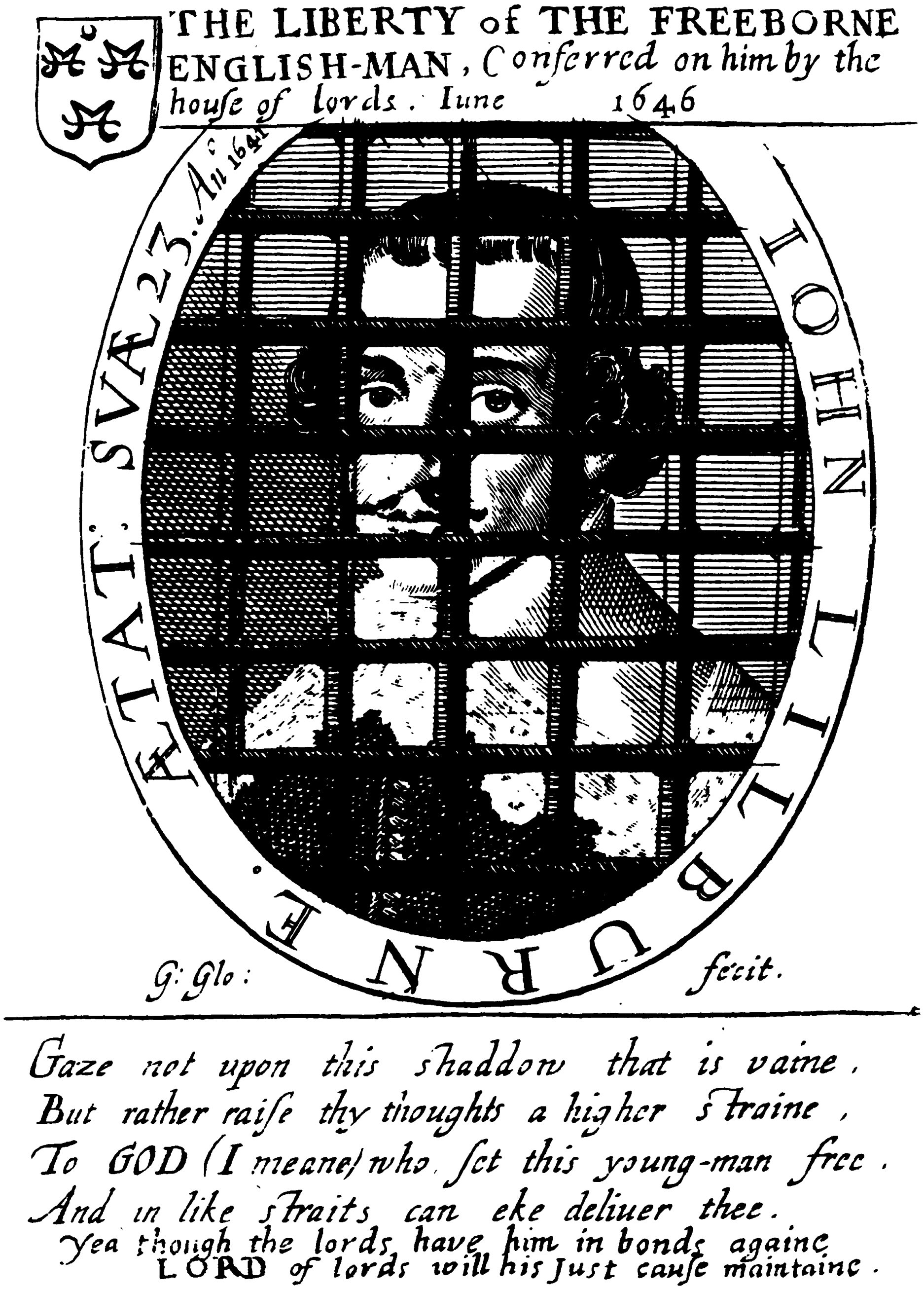
IOHN LILBURNE.
ÆTAT: SVÆ 23. An° 1641
G: Glo: fecit.

THE LIBERTY of THE FREEBORNE ENGLISH-MAN, Conferred on him by the houſe of lords. Iune 1646

Gaze not upon this ſhaddow that is vaine,
But rather raiſe thy thoughts a higher ſtraine,
To GOD (I meane) who ſet this young-man free,
And in like ſtraits can eke deliuer thee.
Yea though the lords have him in bonds againe
LORD of lords will his Juſt cauſe maintaine.

JOHN LILBURNE

Reproduced from the frontispiece to *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens* (July 7), 1646, attributed to Richard Overton. The original is in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum [E 343 (11)]. The portrait of Lilburne, engraved by George Glover, first appeared as the frontispiece to the account of Lilburne's sufferings at the hands of the bishops, called *The Christian Mans Triall*, 1641. In 1646, the plate was altered for use in Overton's *Remonstrance* by the addition of the inscription at the top, the bars before the face, and the last two lines of the verses at the bottom.

TRACTS ON LIBERTY
IN THE
PURITAN REVOLUTION

1638-1647

EDITED, WITH A COMMENTARY, BY
WILLIAM HALLER
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN BARNARD COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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JOHN GOODWIN

ΘEOMAXIA; OR THE GRAND IMPRUDENCE OF MEN RUNNING THE HAZARD OF FIGHTING AGAINST GOD

1644

Θεομαχία appeared in 1644. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, October 7. For Henry Overton, see Volume II, IV. For John Bachiler, who licensed the present work for publication, see Appendix B. The "late disaster," to which reference is made on the title-page, was the surrender of the Parliamentary army under Essex in Cornwall on September 2, 1644. The text is here reproduced from a copy of the original edition in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, collated with two additional copies in the Union Seminary which bear on the title-page the words, "The second time Imprinted," but which seem otherwise identical with the original. The text has also been compared with a photostatic print of the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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ΘΕΟΜΑΧΙΑ;

OR

THE GRAND IMPRUDENCE of men running the hazard of *FIGHTING AGAINST GOD*,

In ſuppreſsing any Way, Doctrine, or Practice, concerning which they know not *certainly whether it be from God or no.*

Being the ſubſtance of two Sermons,
Preached in *Colemanſtreet*, upon occaſion of the
late diſaſter ſuſtain'd in the Weſt.
With ſome neceſſary Enlargements thereunto.

By JOHN GOODVVIN, *Paſtor of the Church of God there.*

The ſecond time Imprinted.

HEB. 10. 31.
It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

MAT. 21. 44.
Whoſoever ſhall fall on (or, ſtumble at) *this ſtone, ſhall be broken in pieces.*

Imprimatur. *John Bachiler.*

LONDON;
Printed for *Henry Overton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop
entring into *Popes-head*-Alley out of *Lumbard-ſtreet.*
1644.

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* * *

READER;

W*E have an Engliſh ſaying, that* the burnt childe dreads the fire. *I have oft been caſt into the fire of mens zealous indignations, by an unclean ſpirit of calumny and ſlander; Some have reported, that I deny juſtification by Chriſt,* i. *that the Sun is up at noon-day; Others, that I deny the immortalitie of the ſoule,* i. *that I murthered my father and my mother; Others, that I have preached againſt the Parliament and Aſſembly,* i. *that I am out of my wits, and weary of my preſent life, and careleſſe of that which is to come; Others yet againe, that ſometimes I ſtood for Presbytery, but am now fallen to Independency; particularly, that I both preach and practiſe non-conformity to a letter of mine written ſome yeers ſince to Mr.* T. G. *that is, that once I was ſo wiſe as to think that ſix and ſeven made juſt nineteene; but now am become ſo weake, as to judge they onely make thirteene, and no more. I perceive there are more Sons of* Belial, *then thoſe that witneſſed againſt* Naboth, *that* he blaſphemed God and the King. *But having no vineyard to accommodate any man, I cannot eaſily conceive, what men and their tongues meane to be ſtill up in ſuch unchriſtian conteſtations with me; except this be it; Becauſe I ſpeak the* truth, *and men are not able to beare it; therefore they reſolve (it ſeems) to make me ſpeak ſuch* untruths, *that I my ſelfe ſhall not be able to beare. I confeſſe, I doe not much dread this fire, made of the tongues of aſps and vipers, not becauſe I have not been ſufficiently burnt by it, but partly becauſe I have been a long time accuſtomed to ſuch burnings, and have found them rather purifying, then conſuming: partly, becauſe the great Apoſtle informs me, that the way by which he paſſed into his glory, was* through honour, and diſhonour, through good report, and evill report. *Yet neverthleſſe, I had rather give an account of mine own words, then of other mens pretending to be mine; and ſo to keep out of the fire, as far as the peace and ſafety of my own ſoule and other mens, will ſuffer me. And this is the true account (*Reader*) of the pub-*

1 King. 21. 10.

2 Cor. 6. 8.

liſhing of theſe Sermons, which (haply) had not been an action ſo neceſſary otherwiſe. Underſtanding that the foule ſpirit, which hath for ſeverall yeers haunted my miniſtery, was beginning to practiſe upon theſe Sermons alſo, I thought it the ſafer courſe of the two, to put my ſelfe into the hands of the Truth (which yet perhaps will not much befriend me neither, in the thoughts and hearts of men, though with God, I am certain, it will) then to expoſe both it and my ſelfe to be rent and torne by him. What good, or hurt, they will or are like to doe, now they are gotten abroad, is not eaſie; either for thee, or me, ſo much as to conjecture. Be it in this, as God and men ſhall agree. When the danger of the diſeaſe runs high, there is little hope but onely in that phyſicke, whereof there is ſome feare. We are under a bondage of much miſery, and it is onely the Truth *(as our Saviour ſaith) that can* make us free: *and yet ſuch is our condition and miſery, that there is cauſe to feare, leſt the Truth, which onely is able to* make us free, *ſhould increaſe our bondage and miſery, by being rejected and oppoſed by us, when it comes in love and mercy to* viſit *us, and to* bleſſe *us out of our miſery.* For this end I was borne *(as our Saviour ſaith of himſelfe,* Joh. 18. 37.) that I ſhould beare witneſſe to the truth, *not to the opinions or apprehenſions of men. In which reſpect I know I am like to have the harder quarter and ſervice in the world; but God hath made me a lover of men in ſuch a degree, that I can willingly conſecrate my ſelfe unto their ſervice, through any ſufferings from them. If this world faile me, I know God hath prepared another for a reſerve, which will ſtand by me, and will not faile.* Reader, *take my prayers along with thee, and an honeſt heart of thine own; and ſo paſſe on to the Sermons before thee; doubtleſſe they will either ſtrengthen thy hand in the way thou art in, or guide thy feet into a way thou art not in, or at leaſt qualifie thy ſpirit with Chriſtian patience and reſpects towards ſuch a way.*

Joh. 8. 32.

From my ſtudy in *Colemanſtreet,*
Octob. 2. 1644.

Thine with an upright and
ſingle heart in Chriſt Jeſus,

JOHN GOODVVIN.

ΘΕΟΜΑΧΙΑ;

OR

The Grand Imprudence of men, running the hazard of *Fighting againſt God*, in ſuppreſſing any Way, Doctrine, or Practice, concerning which they know not certainly whether it be from God, or no.

ACTS 5. 38.

And now I ſay unto you, Refraine your ſelves from theſe men, and let them alone: for if this counſell or worke be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, yee cannot deſtroy it, leſt yee be found even fighters againſt God.

WHen the Children of *Iſrael*, in the progreſſe of their Warres upon the *Canaanites*, wherein God had promiſed to be with them, and to give them ſucceſſe, and that a man of their enemies ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them: notwithſtanding they fought under the protection of many ſuch promiſes as theſe, yet met with a diſaſter and loſſe, thirty ſix of them being ſlaine by the men of *Ai*, and the reſt of the partie ingaged in that ſervice put to rout, and chaſed by their enemies: God himſelfe upon the great dejection and ſolemne humiliation of the Elders of *Iſrael*, and *Joſhua* their Generall, was pleaſed to make knowne unto him by ſpeciall revelation, what root of bitterneſſe it was that brought forth this fruit of death, what ſin by name it was amongſt them, that had ſeparated between him and them in their late ſad miſcarriage, yea, and would ſeparate ſtill, to their further and greater miſery, except they took a courſe to make an atonement for themſelves, by purging and clenſing themſelves from it. Onely the diſcovery or finding out of the perſon that had committed the ſin, was put upon *Joſhua* and the people; wherein yet againe they were directed by God to ſuch a method or means for this diſcovery, that God himſelfe may be ſaid too to have diſcovered even the ſinner alſo. For he it was, that by a ſpeciall directing hand of his providence, cauſed the lot to fall upon *Achan*, who was the man that in taking the *excommunicate thing*, had ſin'd that great and ſpeciall provocation, which was fallen in this guſt of wrath from Heaven upon the people. Theſe things you ſhall finde related more at large *Joſh.*7. From which paſſages by the way (amongſt many other very obſervable) you may take knowledge of theſe three things.

Firſt, That when God is at any time ingaged, and his hand in (as we uſe to ſay) ſhewing mercy and doing good to his people, he is ſeldome or never wont to change or alter the tenour of his preſent diſpenſations, to break off the courſe of his grace by ſuffering evill to come upon them, but upon ſome ſpeciall diſcontent taken, from ſome ſpeciall ſin or other, one or more, committed by them.

Secondly, That ſometimes the ſin of one or of ſome few, in a great ſocietie or body of people, in the provocation or guilt of it, redounds and runs over to the involving and defiling of the whole ſocietie, and rendring all the members thereof obnoxious to the diſpleaſure of God.

Thirdly, That the beſt, if not the onely way for the people of God, being under the disfavour of God, and ſtroke of his diſpleaſure, to make atonement for themſelves, and to recover his favour, is to make diligent ſearch and ſtrict inquiry, what that ſin by name ſhould be, which hath turned away the heart of their God from them, and accordingly to remove it.

My Brethren, the caſe of the Children of *Iſrael* upon their loſſe neere unto the Citie of *Ai*, is our condition and caſe at this day; ſave onely that the hand of God hath been laid heavier upon us, then it was upon them, in that breach. God had begun to doe great and gracious things for us, yea he had gon on for a good ſpace together,treading and trampling downe the ſtrength of our Enemies under us apace; inſomuch, that wee began to take our Harps down from the willow trees, on which we had hung them, to prepare our ſelves to ſing *the ſong of Moſes, the man of God:* but loe on the ſuddaine wee are *ſmitten* back againe *into the places of Dragons,* and the God of our lives *hath covered us with the ſhadow of Death.* That viſion of peace and good things which was let downe from heaven unto us, and was come ſo neere us, that wee began to ariſe, thinking none other but to fall to and eate preſently; is now againe taken up from us into the heavens, and we have loſt the ſight of it. The beſt art and wiſdome we can uſe to open the heavens over us, and cauſe them to deliver downe that treaſure againe to us,to heale our preſent wound,if it be not deadly, is to make as narrow a ſearch, as ſtrict an inquiry, as we can, what that particular and ſpeciall ſin or provocation amongſt us is, the chaſtiſement whereof is now upon us, and which hath brought the rod of this indignation upon our backs. If God himſelfe would pleaſe by ſpeciall revelation to make knowne what this ſin is, as he did unto *Joſhua* and the people of *Iſrael,* ſatisfaction in this point were at hand, nor ſhould we need to abide the various and conjecturall diſcourſes of men, Miniſters or others, about the matter: But having perfected that ſtanding Revelation of himſelfe, the Scriptures, he refraines revelations extraordinary, and leaves his people to conſult with theſe Oracles of his for reſolution, in all ſuch caſes of Queſtion and difficulty as this; onely promiſing the gracious aſſiſtance and guidance of his Spirit unto thoſe that ſhall aske it of him, and not lay ſtumbling blocks in their way otherwiſe, to direct them in ſuch dark and dubious inquiries as theſe. And one ſpeciall end (I conceive) aymed at by that Authority, which hath ſet apart this day for a ſolemne humiliation of our ſelves before God, was, that Miniſters and people ſhould joyne together in fervent prayer and ſupplication unto God, that the one may be directed to make a true and unpartiall diſcovery of this ſinne, and the other judge of the diſcovery being made accordingly: that ſo the troubler of *Iſrael* being found out, execution may be done, and God pacified. In conſideration whereof it is, that I made choice of the Scripture read unto you, upon the preſent occaſion; Conceiving that very ſin to be there deſcribed, yea, and expreſſed by name, (though ſomewhat more generall) which hath occaſioned the ſaid interruption of late made in our hopefull proceedings, yea, and which in all likelihood wrought againſt us formerly, both in that blow which was reached us from heaven, in that as ſtrange, as ſorrowfull a defeat at *Newark*, and otherwiſe; but was not then knowne or conſidered of. The Lord grant that yet at laſt it may enter into all our hearts to conceive aright, and to conſider of it, leſt it brings forth yet againe like bitter fruits, yea, and magnifies it ſelfe at laſt in our utter ruine and deſtruction.

But let us addreſſe unto the words; and in them conſider, firſt, their relation and coherence in the Context, and then their ſenſe and meaning. For the former; the words are part of a ſpeech made by one *Gamaliel* (as he is called *ver.* 34.) a Phariſee, and Doctor of the Law, in an Aſſembly or Councell at *Jeruſalem.* The Councell (as appeares *ver.* 21. &c.) was called, about the Apoſtles, their Doctrine and proceedings; the chiefe deſigne and intendment of it, was to conſider and reſolve what courſe to take with them, how to ſuppreſſe both them and their Doctrine, being both looked upon as prejudiciall to their perſonall and private intereſts, both of honour and profit, in that State and Nation; and as likely to carry away the hearts and affections of much people from them. When they had ſent for *Peter* and the other Apoſtles by a Captain with his Officers, to appeare before the Councell, the Prolocutor or chiefe Prieſt, charged them after this manner; *ver.* 28. *Did not we ſtraitly command you, that you ſhould not teach in this Name? and yee have filled Jeruſalem with your Doctrine, &c.* When *Peter* and the other Apoſtles, ſtanding ſtiffe to their tackling, had made their anſwer, fully juſtifying what they had done, and given a brief accompt of that Doctrine about which they were queſtioned, and of their calling to preach and beare witneſſe of the ſame unto the world; it is ſaid (*ver.* 33.) that the Councell, ſeeing them upon thoſe terms, hearing them ſpeake at ſuch a rate, *burſt in ſunder for anger* (as the former tranſlation) or (as the latter hath it) *were cut at the heart, and took counſell how to ſlay them.* What? would they not ſubmit to the Authority and advice of ſuch a Reverend, learned, and pious Aſſembly as that? Did they thinke themſelves wiſer then they? would they preach a Doctrine that ſhould aſperſe them, and bring them out of credit and requeſt with the people? Such men as they were not meet to be *tolerated* in the State, nor yet to live; and therefore they would fall upon ſome courſe, how to free themſelves, the State and Nation of them, and that muſt be in no lighter way, with no lower hand, then death it ſelfe, they muſt die for it. This (it ſeems) was the ſenſe and reſolution of the generality of the Aſſembly, untill one of them, (that *Gamaliel* we ſpeake of) a man of a better temper and deeper reach then his fellowes, excited to ſpeak, and aſſiſted in ſpeciall manner by God in ſpeaking, by a grave Speech tending to moderation, qualified their ſpirits in part, and brought them to accept of ſomewhat a lighter atonement from the Apoſtles, for their ſuppoſed ſin, then their lives would have amounted unto. For their ſpirits were ſo full of bitterneſs and indignation againſt them, that notwithſtanding all that *Gamaliel* could ſay, they were reſolved to have their peniworths of them, (as we uſe to ſay) to eaſe themſelves on them ſo far, as to cauſe them to be beaten, and withall, ſeverely to charge them the ſecond time, to give over preaching their erroneous and dangerous Doctrine, *to ſpeak no more in the Name of Jeſus*, *ver.* 40. What the tenor of *Gamaliels* Speech was, from the beginning to the end of it, you may read, beginning at *ver.* 35. untill the end of 39. *Men of Iſrael, take heed to your ſelves, what you doe to theſe men*; as if he ſhould have ſaid, Yee will but run a needleſſe hazard of bringing evill, or ruine upon your ſelves, by attempting any thing for the preſent, in a way of violence againſt theſe men; implying, that men had need take heed how they ingage themſelves to ſuppreſſe, moleſt, or deſtroy any generation or ſort of men whatſoever, untill they have a clear and expreſſe warrant from heaven for the execution. To perſwade them not to be too precipitate or forward in any courſe of violence againſt the Apoſtles, he declares to them by a double inſtance (well known unto themſelves) that if they be ſeducers and evill men, and ſo worthy to be deſtroyed, God himſelfe would in a ſhort time, reveale his wrath from heaven againſt them, and bring them and their work to ruine. For thus he had done both formerly by one *Theudas*, and more lately by *Judas* of *Galilee*; who projecting great matters for themſelves,

ſelves, without any warrant or authority from God, though they went on, and ſeem'd for a while to proſper in their way, drawing great numbers of people after them, were yet, both they and all their complices and followers, by a ſpeciall hand of God ſcattered and brought to nought. Upon the mention of theſe two memorable examples of Divine juſtice againſt Seducers and Deceivers, he infers as followeth in the words read unto you.

And now I ſay unto you, Refraine from theſe men, and let them alone, &c.

This for the coherence.

For the ſenſe of the words (briefly) Refrain from, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ, that is, ſtand, or keep off from them, depart from them, go yee your way, and let them go their way; καὶ ἐάσατε αὐτοὺς, let them alone, or ſuffer them, that is, (as ſome underſtand it) do not only forbeare perſecuting of them your ſelves by your authority, but be no occaſion that the *Roman* power any wayes interpoſeth to moleſt them: do not betray them into the hand of violence otherwiſe; or elſe the doubling of the caution, may import the weightineſſe of the matter in his apprehenſion that ſpeaketh. However, by this double Caution or Item he gives unto them, not to have any thing to do (for the preſent) with the Apoſtles, in any way of moleſtation, he diſcovers an utter averſeneſſe in him to ſuch proceedings. Wherefore he gives this reaſon further.

For if this counſell or work be of men, it will come to nought] *i.* If the deſign which theſe men drive, with the method, courſe and means whereby they carry it on, hath no better foundation to bear it up, but either their own wiſdomes, intereſt, and authority, or ſome other mens, καταλυθήσεται, it will be diſſolved, or come to nought, it will ſoon diſcover its originall by its end, if it were taken out of the duſt, to duſt it will return; and they that are ingaged in it, will fall and ſink with it. *But if it be from God*] *i.* If it be countenanced or authorized by God, if he be the Founder of it; *Yee cannot deſtroy or diſſolve it, leſt, &c. i.* you muſt not, or you ought not, to attempt any thing againſt it to deſtroy or diſſolve it, becauſe by ſuch an attempt as this, you will do no better then *fight againſt God. Yee cannot*] *viz.* lawfully, or wiſely, or upon any good ground. There is a double impotency, or impoſſibility often mentioned in Scripture; the one we may call *naturall*, or *phyſicall*, the other *mo-*

rall. With the firſt kinde of impoſſibility, things are ſaid to be unpoſſible, when there wants a naturall or executive principle of ſtrength or power in any kind to do them: with the latter, that is ſaid to be unpoſſible for a man to do, for the doing whereof he hath no ground or warrant either in the Word of God, or in reaſon or equity, though he hath never ſo much naturall ſtrength or power to do it. Of this latter kind, the Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeaketh, 2 *Cor.* 13.8. where he ſaith, *that hee could do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*; meaning, that he had no ground or warrant, either from God, or otherwiſe, to do any ſuch thing. So again, 1 *Cor.* 10. 21. *Yee cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the Devill*; *i.* yee cannot do it *lawfully*; or with any congruity either to the principles of Chriſtianity, or of ſound reaſon. Of this kind of impotency or impoſſibility, that common ſaying in the Civill Law ſpeaketh, *Id tantum poſſumus, quod jure poſſumus.* Of the other kind, we have many inſtances alſo; *I ſpake to thy Diſciples to caſt him out, but they could not* (*Mar.* 9. 18.) *i.* they wanted an executive principle or power; whereby to do it: otherwiſe it was lawfull enough for them to have done it. So again, *Mar.* 6. 19. and *Mar.* 2. 4. beſides many other.

Deſtroy or diſſolve it] *i.* do or attempt any thing to deſtroy it. Not only the endevours and attempts, but even the purpoſes and intents of doing things, are often in Scripture expreſſed by words, which properly ſignifie the doing or effecting the things themſelves. *Many good works* (ſaith our Saviour, *Joh.* 10. 32) *have I ſhewed you from my Father: for which of theſe works do you ſtone me?* *i.* do you intend, or go about to ſtone me? for they had not yet actually ſtoned him. Thus *Heb.* 11. 17. *Abraham* is twice ſaid to have *offered up his ſon Iſaac,* becauſe he was fully intended, and had attempted to offer him. Beſides many the like: So here, *you cannot deſtroy it, i.* you ought not, you cannot with reaſon go about or attempt the deſtroying of it.—— *Leſt you be found even fighters againſt God*; meaning, that in caſe the Doctrine and way of thoſe men, againſt whom they were incenſed, ſhould be from God, and they nevertheleſs ſeek to deſtroy them, they would by ſuch a courſe daſh themſelves againſt ſuch a ſtone as would break them to pieces; they would *be found even to fight againſt God.* That cauſall particle, *μήποτε*, *leſt*, doth not alwayes note a hazard, or uncertainty of an effect or conſequent; but many times ſignifies as much as ἵνα μὴ, *ut non*, and is us'd as well to ſignifie the dependance as well of a certain and neceſſary, as of a contingent effect, upon its cauſe: * So here, *you cannot deſtroy it, leſt you be found, &c. i.* if you attempt to deſtroy it, *you will be found, &c.*

* See Mat. 4.6 and Mat. 13. 15.

Be found] The word εὑρίσκεσθαι *to be found*, in ſuch a conſtruction as this, oft notes the unexpectedneſſe of ſomewhat befalling a perſon, whether in reſpect of his own, or other mens expectations. Thus it is ſaid of the Virgin *Mary*, that before *Joſeph* and ſhe came together, εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, *ſhee was FOUND with child*, meaning, beyond, or contrary to expectation. So *Luk. 9. 36.* whereas *Moſes* and *Elias* were immediately before the voyce from heaven, taken notice of by the Apoſtles to have been preſent with Chriſt upon the Mount, as ſoone as ever the voyce was paſt, it is ſaid of him, εὑρέθη μόνος, *he was found alone*, to imply that *Moſes* and *Elias* were withdrawn before the Apoſtles were aware, or thought of it. To paſſe by other inſtances for this importance of the word; it is ſaid of *Babylon* the Great (*Rev.* 18. 24.) *that in her was found* (εὑρέθη) *the bloud of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth*; meaning, that whereas this City had till now thought her ſelf the moſt religious City under heaven, the Mother and Patroneſſe of Prophets and Saints, an enemy onely unto Heretiques and perſons hatefull unto God; now when God came to call her to an account, and to *enter into judgement with her*, contrary to her expectation and opinion of her ſelf, ſhe was diſcovered and evicted to have been the moſt cruell and bloudy enemy that ever *Prophets* or *Saints* had, yea, and further, a principall Actreſſe in the ſlaughter of many millions otherwiſe. So *Gamaliel*, expreſſing himſelfe thus to the Councell, *leſt you be FOUND even fighters againſt God*; gives them to underſtand, that how holy, wiſe, or juſt ſoever they might ſeeme in their own eyes, yea, and might think themſelves the furtheſt of any men under heaven from practiſing or *fighting againſt God*, yet if they went on with their preſent intentions and reſolutions againſt the men they had now before them, they might fall into this heavie guilt and condemnation, when they thought leaſt of it. The heavineſſe of which guilt is further implyed, in that emphaticall particle ϗ, *even, even fighters againſt God*; which particle of ſpeech in ſuch conſtructions as this, is intenſive in an high degree, and ſtill imports ſomewhat very remarkable in what is joyned with it. In ſuch an importance as this, you ſhall find it uſed, *Matth.* 12.8. *for the ſon of man is Lord,* ϗ τοῦ σαββάτου, *even of the Sabbath*; meaning, that this was a very tranſcendent Lordſhip indeed, and ſuch as was incompatible unto any, but unto him who need count it no robbery to be equall with God. So *Mar.* 13.22. and elſewhere. Thus *Gamaliel* admoniſhing his Colleagues, to conſider well what they did, *leſt they ſhould be found* EVEN *fighters againſt God*; plainly intimates unto you, that this is one of the worſt ſtones in the world to ſtumble at, and that no improvidence or inconſiderateneſs whatſoever beſides, is like to make any ſuch breach upon the comfort and peace of the Creature, as for men to ingage themſelves in any ſuch action or courſe, wherein they ſhall be found fighters againſt God.

Θεόμαχοι, *Fighters againſt God*]. Every act of ſin, eſpecially with knowledge and conſent of will, is, (in a ſenſe) *a fighting againſt God:* but that ſin which *Gamaliel* here intends in his expreſſion of *fighting againſt God*, is a ſin of an higher nature then ordinary, as appeares by the particle καὶ, *even*, joyn'd with it, and formerly opened. Therefore by *fighting againſt God* (in this place) muſt needs be meant ſome high and peremptory action or ingagement of the creature, wherein it oppoſeth God in ſome ſpeciall or remarkable deſign, which hee ſeeketh either to ſet on foot, or elſe to carry on in the world, whether the oppoſer knowes it to be a deſign of God's or no. And thus the Propagating of that Doctrine, which the Apoſtles preached, being a deſign of God, the oppoſition of the councell againſt it, eſpecially with ſo high an hand as the cruſhing or ſlaying of the Apoſtles, who were appointed by God to publiſh it, would have been, was, and would have been very properly, *a fighting againſt God.*

The words explain'd, are matter ready prepared for Doctrine and Obſervation. Only one word (by the way) for Anſwer to that Queſtion; What authority, weight, or credit, is to be given to that which *Gamaliel* delivers in this Speech of his to the Councell? Whether may we build upon every thing, or any thing, ſpoken by him, as authorized by God?

I anſwer;

1. That there is little queſtion to be made, but that the Spirit

of the man, was in ſpeciall manner touch'd and ſtirr'd up by the Spirit of God, to interpoſe in the behalfe of the Apoſtles, as he did; as the ſpirit of *Nicodemus* (another branch of the ſame root) formerly had been, to ſtand up and ſpeake in the behalfe of Chriſt, *Joh.* 7.51.

2. The principall end and ſcope of what he ſpake, being the reſcuing of the Apoſtles from the bloudy Counſells of thoſe who had concluded their death, and were conſulting about the execution; plainly ſheweth, that there was more of God then ordinary in the thing, eſpecially if we conſider further, that he who thus inexpectedly appeared with ſhield and buckler for the Apoſtles defence, was of that ſect or generation of men, who generally hated and oppoſed the Doctrine of Chriſt with more inveterate and viperous malignitie of ſpirit, then any other.

3. Evident it is, 1. that the intent, end, and ſcope of *Gamaliel* in this ſpeech to the Councell, being the bringing of the Apoſtles from the bloudy rage and violence of men, was good, and agreeable to the will and word of God. And 2. as evident likewiſe it is, that the ſpeech it ſelfe, in the whole carriage, and in all the paſſages of it, is duly, and with all exactneſſe of wiſdome and prudence, proportioned to the end, and tends in a direct and regular way to effect it. Now whatſoever directly and regularly tends to the effecting of that which is good, muſt needs be good, and conſequently from God. That which is good may occaſionally and by ſome collaterall influence of Providence, be brought to paſſe, by means that are evill; but in a regular and direct way, it can onely be produced by that which is good. There is no more friendſhip or fellowſhip naturally, between good ends and ill means, then is between *light and darkneſſe, Chriſt and Belial.* But

4. (and laſtly) There being nothing in all this ſpeech (excepting onely the hiſtoricall inſtances, the truth of which, it ſeems, was generally knowne among the *Jews*, and is atteſted by *Joſephus* their great Hiſtorian) but what is fully conſonant with the word of God, (unqueſtionably ſo acknowledged) elſewhere, the credit and authority of it, for matter of truth, is one and the ſame with thoſe other Scriptures correſponding with it. *What we here learne* (ſaith *Gualter* upon the place) *ſhould be unto us as an Oracle,* viz. *that the counſells of God are not to be defeated or hindred by any*

Interim oraculi inſtar nobis eſſe debet, quòd Dei cõſilia nullis hominũ viribus impedire poſſe, humana verò ſuâ ſponte collabi diſcimus. Gual. Homil. 37. in Act.

ſtrength of man; but *for the counſells of men, they fall, and ſink, and come to nothing of themſelves.*

In the words, there be theſe ſix enſuing Points of Doctrine, faire and large, beſides many others of a more collaterall and illative obſervation.

Firſt, From thoſe words, *ver.* 38. *And now I ſay unto you, Refraine from theſe men, and let them alone: for, &c.* Obſerve, that *it is a point of much wiſdome to forbeare the oppreſſion, or ſuppreſſion of ſuch perſons, Doctrines, and wayes, which men have any reaſonable cauſe at all to judge or thinke, that they are, or may be, from God.*

Secondly, From thoſe doubtfull expreſſions of ſo great a Doctor of the Law, and one that knew how to meaſure and eſtimate the Authoritie and weight of a Councell-determination, and beſides can no wayes be ſuſpected of any diſaffection or prejudicateneſſe againſt ſuch Authoritie, from thoſe doubtfull expreſſions (I ſay) of this man, *If this counſell or worke be of men, &c.* And againe, *If it be of God, &c.* Obſerve, That *the determination of a Councell, or of the major part of a Councell againſt a way, Doctrine, or practice, is no demonſtrative or ſufficient proofe for any wiſe man to reſt or build upon, that ſuch a way, Doctrine, or practice, are not from God.* The whole Councell, as you heard, this one man excepted, had peremptorily concluded the Doctrine and practice of the Apoſtles, to be, not from God, but from men, and thereupon were in high conſultation to ſuppreſſe them, and that by death; yet all this did not ſatiſfie *Gamaliel* in point of judgement or conſcience, he was ſtill but where he was, doubtfull and in ſuſpence with himſelfe about the buſineſſe.

Thirdly, From that clauſe, *If this counſell or worke be from men, it will come to nought*] Obſerve, that *every invention, contrivance, way, or device of man, eſpecially in things either appertaining or pretending to appertaine unto God, in matters of Religion, will in time weare out into nothing and be diſſolved.*

Fourthly, From the Connexion or dependance between the former and latter parts of *ver.* 39. *But if it be from God, yee cannot deſtroy it, leſt, &c.* Obſerve, That *for any man, or men, to attempt the ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, way, or practiſe that is from God, is to fight againſt God himſelfe.*

Fiftly, From that ſignificant phraſe or expreſſion, of being

Presbyter [illegible]

FOVND fighters againſt God, ver. 39. Obſerve, *that many, who poſſibly for the preſent may conceive and thinke, and that with much confidence, that they fight for God, when the truth comes to an unpartiall and perfect ſcanning, will be found to have fought againſt him.*

Sixtly, (and laſtly) From the importance and weight of that emphaticall particle, *even*, in the laſt clauſe, *Leſt yee be found EVEN fighters againſt God*; Obſerve, that *fighting againſt God, is a moſt dangerous poſture or ingagement, for a creature to be taken or found in by God at any time.* The dread and terror of ſuch a miſpriſion as this, is the baſe and ground-work upon which *Gamaliel* builds the fabrick of that important counſell and advice, which he gives unto his fellows, thoroughout his diſcourſe or ſpeech made unto them.

We ſhall for the preſent (paſſing by all the reſt) pitch upon that Doctrine mentioned in the fourth place, the tenor and effect whereof was this; *That for any man to endeavour or attempt the ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, practice, or way, which is from God, is to fight againſt God himſelfe.*

For the ſenſe and true import of the Doctrine, I ſhall need to adde little beyond what was ſaid, in explication of the words; here we briefly ſhewed what was meant by fighting againſt God. I now onely adde this, (which is ſomewhat more particular) that it is not every degree or kind of oppoſing a way, Doctrine, or deſigne of God, which either the text, or the Doctrine calleth *a fighting againſt God*; but onely ſuch an oppoſing which is peremptory, and carried on with an high hand, ſo that thoſe Agents or Inſtruments of God, which he hath anointed to hold forth that way, Doctrine, or Deſigne of his in the world, are not ſuffered to execute their Commiſſion, but are countermanded either by the Authoritie or over-bearing ſtrength and power of men. It is one thing to oppoſe, or contend againſt a Doctrine or way of God, *per modum Doctoris*, as when a Miniſter through a miſtake or weakneſſe of judgement, pleads for *Baal* againſt God, preacheth error up, and truth downe, which may befall the beſt and faithfulleſt of men: another, to doe it *per modum Judicis*, as when men will aſſume an Authoritative power, whether Eccleſiaſtique or Civill, to ſuppreſſe or ſilence the publiſhing, practiſing, arguing, or debating of ſuch wayes or Doctrines, with the judgements and conſciences of men. It is true, even this kind of oppoſing them, is ſometimes incident to men otherwiſe upright in the maine before God: but the children of this contention and conteſtation againſt their Maker, muſt expect to be taught more wiſdome and reverence towards him, with briars and thornes. If men fight againſt God after any ſuch manner as this, upon ſuch termes as if they were Gods too, this will ingage him to take up armes alſo in his own defence, and provoke him to fight againſt thoſe, who fight againſt him. This for opening the Doctrine.

For the confirmation of the truth of it, wee ſhall not need to cauſe many Scriptures to labour: the word will be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the mouth of two or three of theſe Witneſſes. *Why doe the Heathen rage,* (ſaith *David*) *and the people imagine a vaine thing? The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take counſell together againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed, ſaying, Let us break their bands aſunder, and caſt away their cords from us, &c.* Thoſe expreſſions, of *raging, ſetting themſelves, taking counſell together againſt the Lord and his Anointed,* amount every whit as much as to a *fighting againſt the Lord.* And what was it, that the *Heathen, people, Kings, and Rulers of the Earth,* did, or attempted to doe *againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed;* (meaning Chriſt) Was it any thing elſe but to quench that fire, which Chriſt (as himſelfe ſaith) *came to kindle,* to ſuppreſſe the Goſpel, to cut off thoſe wayes of righteouſneſſe and holineſſe from the knowledge and practiſe of men, which are therein recommended and held forth unto the world? Theſe are the *bands,* which they *ſet themſelves* thus *to cut aſunder,* and the *cords,* which, if it had been poſſible, they would have *caſt from them. Saul, Saul,* (ſaith the Lord Chriſt from Heaven unto him, as he was travailing towards *Damaſcus*) *Why perſecuteſt thou me? And he ſaid, Who art thou Lord? And the Lord ſaid, I am Jeſus, whom thou perſecuteſt, &c.* Act. 9. 4, 5. To *perſecute* Chriſt (and conſequenly, God himſelfe, who is in Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* 5.) imports every whit as much, as to *fight againſt* Chriſt, and ſomewhat more. But why is *Saul* here charged with *perſecuting* Chriſt? What courſe of hoſtilitie did he run or practice againſt him? It is ſaid (*ver.* 2.) that *he deſired Letters of the high Prieſt to Damaſcus to the Synagogues, that if he found any of this WAY, whether they were men, or women, he might bring them bound to Jeruſalem.* Whereby it appears, that

Pſal. 2. 1,2,3.

that the preciſe oppoſition againſt Chriſt, upon which *Saul* was arreſted from Heaven (as we heard) under the termes of *perſecuting* him, was his attempting with ſo high and bloudy an hand, to deſtroy out of the world that *WAY* of worſhipping & ſerving God, which Chriſt in his Goſpel recommends unto, and chargeth upon the world. *Men and women* were not the preciſe and formall object of his hatred and perſecution, but that *way* of Chriſt in the Goſpel, which they maintained, practiſed, and taught, who were perſecuted by him. If he could have told how otherwiſe to have gotten this *WAY* out of their hearts, tongues, and lives, and conſequently out of the world, then by moleſting, vexing, and perſecuting them, it is not like that he would have proceeded againſt them, with ſo rough and cruell an hand. It is ſaid (*Revel.* 12.7.) *That there was warre in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought againſt the Dragon; and the Dragon fought, and his Angels.* Whether *Michael* in this Scripture be Chriſt himſelf, (as ancient Interpreters generally carried it) or ſome prime Angel appointed by Chriſt, to be as a Generall or Head to his Saints and ſervants, in thoſe warres and fiery conflicts, wherein they were for a long time engaged againſt Satan, and his bloudy Agents in the Roman Empire, (as ſome later Expoſitors conceive) is not much materiall. But it is here expreſly ſaid, that *the Dragon and his Angels*, that is, the Devill and his Inſtruments, ignorant and bloud-thirſty-men, *fought*, viz. againſt *Michael* and his Angels, *i.* againſt Chriſt himſelfe in thoſe appointed by him to hold forth the way and Goſpel of his Kingdome unto the world. But why, or how are they ſaid to have *fought againſt Chriſt?* What was their ingagement or attempt againſt him? Queſtionleſſe nothing elſe but the extirpation and ejection of the Doctrine and Way of his Goſpel out of the world, by the torments, ſlaughter and ruine of thoſe who profeſſed them, and by this profeſſion, gave them a ſpeciall ſubſiſtence and beeing in the world. For that rule, Doctrine, or way, which is not practiſed or profeſſed in the world, languiſheth, and is little better then dead. I adde but one Scripture more, and then I have done with the proofe of the Point, in this kind. *Then cometh the end* (ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. 24.) *when he* (*i.* Chriſt) *ſhall have delivered up the Kingdome to God even the Father, when he ſhall have put downe all rule, and all authoritie and power.* Why the *end* ſhould not *be,* untill Chriſt hath *put downe all rule, and all authoritie and power,* *i.* all kinds of rule, Authoritie and power; this reaſon is rendred, *ver.* 25. *For he muſt reigne, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* I demand, why ſhould *all rule, all Authoritie and power,* as well Eccleſiaſticall as Civill, be looked upon, as enemies unto Chriſt? What is the enmity or hoſtilitie they exerciſe againſt him? Doubtleſſe no lawfull rule, Authoritie, or power, are enemies to Chriſt, either in their nature or inſtitution, but are confederate with him. It is their degeneration in their exerciſe and actings, that renders them of an hoſtile interpretation to him. There is none of them all but is apt ever and anon to be *fighting againſt him,* and that by ſome peremptory and ſtiffe oppoſing and ſuppreſſing ſome way, Doctrine, or practiſe of his, where they have to doe. And this is the quarrell which the Lord Chriſt hath to the whole fraternitie or aſſociation of them; for this he counts them his *enemies.*

The reaſons of the point, which we ſhall briefly touch, are three:

Reaſon 1 Firſt, He that attempts or ſeeks by an high hand to ſuppreſs any Doctrine, Way or Practice which is from God, may well be conceived and ſaid to *fight againſt God,* becauſe he oppoſeth, and that with vehemence and might, the will of God, and that in a very conſiderable act, motion, or deſire of it. There is no Way, Doctrine, or Practice, which is from God, but his will ſtands ſtrongly bent for the propagation and ſpreading of it in the world. Luk. 12. 49. *I am come* (ſaith Chriſt) *to ſend* (or, caſt) *fire on the earth: and what WILL I,* (or, what is my deſire, as the former tranſlation had it) *if it be already kindled?* meaning, that his deſire to ſee the Goſpel on foot, to ſee it well taken, and ſufficiently rooted in the world, was ſo great, that when he once ſaw it, he cared not how ſoon he left the world. So *Luke* 22. 15. *And he ſaid unto them, With deſire have I deſired to eat this paſſeover with you, before I ſuffer:* meaning that he even longed to erect and found that great Ordinance of the Supper, for the uſe and benefit of the world in after times, before he left the world. Many other Scriptures there are that ſpeak this over and over, *viz.* that the heart and ſoul of God are firmly and deeply ſet within him, to have ſuch Wayes, Doctrines and Ordinances as come from him, publiſhed, maintained, preached, and held forth unto the world. Therefore they who ingage themſelves with all their ſtrength, and all their might, to reſiſt this will of his in the accompliſhment of it, what do they elſe but fight againſt him ?

Reaſon 2. Secondly, Hee that magnifies himſelf to ſuppreſſe, quaſh, or keep down any way, Practice or Counſell which is from God, proportionably oppoſeth the glory of God, and doth what in him lies, to keep God from being magnified in the hearts and lives of men, at leaſt as far as that Way, Practice or Counſell which hee ſeeks to ſuppreſs, tends to ſuch a magnification of him. And will this, being weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary, be found any whit lighter, then a fighting againſt God? Certain it is, that God hath (as it were) a ſtock of glory in the hand of every Way, Doctrine and Practice, which he recommends unto the world; yea, in all and every of theſe, he hath a peculiar deſigne for the exaltation of his Name. The *beauty of the Lord* is ſaid to be ſeen, or to be *beheld* in the Wayes and Ordinances of his *Houſe*, or Temple. *Pſal.* 27. 4. There is no way or truth of God, but carries an impreſſion in it of ſome lineament or other of the glory and lovelineſs of his face. So again, *Pſal.* 67. The Prophet having (*ver.* 1.) petitioned that at the hand of God, which (*ver.* 2.) might make his *way to be known on earth, &c.* he breaks out (*ver.* 3.) in this propheticall ſtrain, *Let the people praiſe thee, O God, let all the people praiſe thee*; clearly implying, that the *way of God* being publiſhed, and made known to the world, is that which increaſeth the Revenues of the throne of Heaven, raiſeth and procureth new contributions of praiſe and glory from men unto God. So then he that ſhall riſe up to oppoſe the God of Heaven in any of thoſe methods, counſels or projections of his, whereby he projects the exaltation and advancement of his own great Name and Glory in the world, may in as proper a ſenſe, as the phraſe lightly will bear, be ſaid *to fight againſt God*; eſpecially, if we conſider but this one thing further: that Gods glory is his darling, his *unica*, his only one, (as *David* cal'd his life, *Eripe à gladio animam meam, à cane unicam meam*, *Pſ.* 22. 21.) it is the only life which he lives in the world; it is the only apple that his ſoul careth to eat of, out of that great Orchard which he hath planted (I mean the world.) Therefore doubtleſs, he that ſhall oppoſe him in his gathering of this fruit, hath the greater ſin.

Reaſon 3. Thirdly, (and laſtly) there is in every thing that proceeds or derives its originall or being from another, ſomewhat of the nature, property, or ſpirit of that, from which it takes this riſe or ſpring of its being: there is ſomewhat of the father in the childe, of the root in the fruit and in the branches, &c. In like manner, in every Way, Doctrine or Practice which is from God, there is ſomewhat of God himſelf. The very ſubſtance, frame and conſtitution of them, at leaſt that which is operative, quickning and ſpirituall in them, what is it but a kinde of heavenly compoſition, the ingredients whereof are the holineſs, wiſdome, mercy, goodneſs and bounty of God? and what are theſe, and every of them, but God himſelf? Every Ordinance or Way of God, is (as it were) a benigne conſtellation of theſe ſtars unto the world; out of the midſt of which he gives a gracious aſpect of himſelf, and communicates thoſe ſweet and rich influences of himſelfe, light, and life, and ſtrength, and peace, and joy, unto the world. It is ſaid, (1 *King.* 19. 11.) that the Lord neither was in the *ſtrong wind that rent the mountains*, nor yet in the *earthquake* that followed it, nor in the *fire* that came after that; but after theſe there came *a ſtill voyce*, wherein it is implied, that the Lord was. The meaning is, that God had neither prepared or intended, either the wind, earthquake or fire, by, or out of which to impart himſelf unto his Prophet *Elijah*; he had only prepared and ſanctified the *ſtill and ſoft voyce* for ſuch a purpoſe as this; and therefore he is expreſly denyed to have been in any other, and conſequently ſuppoſed to have been in this. In ſuch a ſenſe or manner as God was in this *ſtill voyce*, he is in every Way, Doctrine, and Ordinance of his; in, by, and out of all and every of theſe, he communicates and imparts himſelf graciouſly unto the world. Therefore whoſoever ſhall fight againſt any of theſe, by ſeeking to ſupplant, ſuppreſs, or keep them down, that they may not *run and be glorified* in the world, what do they elſe, let this work and courſe of theirs be truly interpreted, but fight againſt God himſelf?

We have done with the Reaſons of the Doctrine; we ſhall conclude with ſomewhat by way of uſe and application.

Firſt, by way of Inſtruction: If to attempt the ſuppreſſion or keeping down, any Way, Doctrine, or Practice which is from God, be of no leſs concernment, of no ſafer interprepation, then a fighting againſt God, then certainly it is the greateſt imprudence

or

or improvidence under heaven,for any man,or rank of men whatſoever,to appear,eſpecially in any high-handed oppoſition or conteſtation againſt any Way, Doctrine, or Practice whatſoever, untill they have proof upon proof, demonſtration upon demonſtration, evidence upon evidence; yea, all the ſecurity that men in an ordinary way (at leaſt) are capable of, that ſuch Wayes or Doctrines only pretend unto God as the Author them, and that in truth, they are not at all from him, but either from men, or of a baſer parentage. For what do men by ſuch a practice and ingagement of themſelves as this, but run an apparent hazard, of daſhing their foot againſt that ſtone, at which *Paul* ſtumbled, (when time was) yea, and without the higheſt hand of mercy that was ever lift up to ſave a mortall man, had been utterly broken to pieces
Acts 9. by it? *It is a hard thing for thee* (ſaith the Lord by a voyce from heaven to him) πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, *to kick* or daſh thy ſelf againſt ſharp goads or nails, made of Steel or Iron, (for ſo the word ſignifies) meaning, that his undertaking, or ſetting himſelf with ſuch violence,to ſuppreſs that Way which Chriſt had a purpoſe to advance and ſet up in the world, was an enterpriſe of the soreſt and moſt grievous conſequence and portendance to him, in the nature of it, that ever he could have lift up either heart, or head, or hand unto. *Who ever hath been fierce againſt him* (ſaith *Job*,ſpeaking of God) *and hath proſpered?* Job 9. 4. He that is fierce againſt any Way or Doctrine which is from God, makes a covenant with ſorrow and trouble,which is like to ſtand. And (to make the beſt of ſuch a doubtfull and blind ingagement) put the caſe that that Way or Doctrine, which men ſhall proſecute with ſo much violence and fierceneſſe of ſpirit, ſhall in concluſion be found to have been miſtaken, erroneous, and not from God: yet,

1. In this caſe men ſhall but offer the ſacrifice of fooles, a kinde of ſacrifice, wherewith God is not delighted. The *Athenians* worſhipped the true God, as appeares by thoſe words of the Apoſtle unto them, *Act.* 17. 23. *Whom yee then ignorantly worſhip, him ſhew I unto you*; and yet were Idolaters notwithſtanding. The ſame
Rom.10. 2. Apoſtle *bears record* unto his Country-men the *Jews*, *That they had the zeale of God*; but this zeale of theirs not being *according to knowledge*, in the proſecution of it, they *neither pleaſed God, and were contrary to all men, forbidding* the Apoſtles *to preach unto the Gentiles, that*

they might be ſaved, to fulfill their ſins alwayes; becauſe wrath was come upon them to the uttermoſt, 1 Theſ. 2. 15, 16. The beaſt under the Law, though it were *a firſt-born*, yet was not to be *ſanctified* or offered *unto the Lord*, if it were either *lame*, or *blind*, Deut. 15. 19. 21. Nor was any man, though of *Aarons* ſeed, admitted to ſerve at the Altar, that had any blemiſh or imperfection of *blindneſſe* on him, *Levit.* 21. 17, 18. God regards no mans *zeale* without *knowledge*, though it ſhould pitch and faſten upon things never ſo agreeable unto his Will: nor doth he care that his enemies themſelves ſhould be deſtroyed, but upon lawfull triall and conviction.

Secondly, whatſoever Doctrine or Way is recommended and tendered unto men in the Name of God, whether either the one or the other be from God or no, yet he expects from men (as well he may) that reverence and regard unto that great Name of his, wherein ſuch things are brought and tendered unto them, that they ſhould be diligently conſidered, and due proofe and examination made, whether they be from him, or no, before they be rejected, and much more before oppoſed. And certainly men do but pollute and prophane that ever-bleſſed Name of God, by making refuſe, yea, abomination (as many do) of ſuch things as are brought unto them in that Name, before they know upon any conſiderable grounds or terms of knowledge, whether the things be indeed from God or no; yea, though the things thus rejected, ſhould at laſt be found worthy of no better entertainment, as having no agreement with God or his Word. The event or iſſue in this caſe, though it ſhould fall out to be the beſt for ſuch men, will very little eaſe or qualifie their ſin. Shall not that wicked tyrant and enemy of God, *Eglon*, *Riſe up in judgement, and condemne that generation* of men we now ſpeak of, who, when *Ehud* only ſignified that he *had a meſſage from God unto him*, did not preſently reject the meſſage before he knew it, or fall foul upon the Meſſenger, but (as the Texth ſaith, *Judg.* 2. 20.) *aroſe up from his Throne*, addreſſing himſelf in that deportment of Reverence to receive it?

Thirdly, (and laſtly) It is extreme madneſſe in men, to run the hazard we ſpeak of, I mean, of *fighting againſt God*, in ſeeking to ſuppreſs ſuch wayes or courſes as they are not able to demonſtrate, but that they are Wayes of God indeed, becauſe, in caſe they be not the Wayes of God, he himſelf will give teſtimony from Heaven againſt them in due time, hee will ſuppreſſe and ſcatter them, and bring them to nought; and then there will be no danger for men to reject and abhorre them. *Dearely beloved* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 12. 19.) *avenge not your ſelves, but give place unto wrath,* i. unto the wrath of God, whoſe juſt avenging hand is lift up againſt thoſe that wrong you, and deal unjuſtly with you, and is ready to ſmite for your ſakes; as it followeth: *For it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay, ſaith the Lord.* It were great folly in any man, to expoſe himſelf to the juſt offence and diſpleaſure of God, by ſeeking to right himſelfe in an angry and revengefull manner upon him, whom he certainly knowes hath injur'd him, God himſelf being ready with the ſtroke of juſtice to do him right, and to avenge him on his adverſary, though he himſelf ſhould be patient and ſit ſtill. But it would be a point yet of ſeven-times greater folly then ſo, for a man to fall foul in a way of revenge upon an imaginary adverſary, and who (at moſt) can only be ſuppoſed or ſuſpected to have done him wrong, conſidering that God who is an infallible diſcerner and Judge of injuries and wrongs, and withall a juſt Avenger of all ſuch things, will ſhortly appeare for his full vindication, in caſe he hath been wronged indeed. Nor hath any man cauſe in this caſe to feare, leſt, *whileſt the graſſe grows, the ſteed ſhould ſtarve,* (as the Proverb is) I mean, that the perſon injured, whether really, or in ſuppoſition only, ſhould ſuffer loſſe, by *poſſeſſing his ſoul in patience,* untill the day of Divine recompence and vengeance ſhall come. For God certainly will give full and ample conſideration for all forbearance and long-ſuffering of men, wherein, and whereby the rights of his Throne are tendered and maintained. It were no leſſe then an exaltation of folly in any man, to expoſe his own life to the ſtroke of juſtice, by aſſaulting the life of a malefactor whileſt he is going to execution.

Again, ſecondly, (by way of Inſtruction) If to attempt the deſtruction or ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, or Way, which is from God in ſo high and peremptory a manner, as was formerly expreſſed, be a *fighting againſt God*; take we knowledge from hence alſo, what ſin by name in all likelihood (at leaſt) and with higheſt pregnancy of conjecture, it is, which ever and anon thus ſeparates between God and us, which ſtill troubles our proceedings, and makes the Sun of our peace to go ſo often backwards in the

Heavens thereof. Is there not a *fighting againſt God* amongſt us, as
well as a fighting for him? And do wee not pull down by the one,
what we build up by the other? Are not the hearts, and the heads,
and the hands of far the greateſt part of men amongſt us, ingaged,
and that to the higheſt of all bitterneſſe, hatred, and enmity,
againſt that *Way* of ordering the things of Gods worſhip, and of
governing his Churches and Saints, which hath been, and ſtill is,
held forth in his Name unto this Nation, by ſome Ambaſſadors
and Meſſengers of his, of a very choyce anointing, and indued
with ſtrength from on high, (many of them) as it were on purpoſe
to ſtand by ſome ſuch *Way* or counſell of God, untill it had
throughly taken the hearts, and judgements, and conſciences of
men; beſides many thouſands more, and thoſe (for the moſt
part) of the beſt and choyceſt ſervants of God amongſt us? Is
not this *WAY* blaſphemed and ſpoken againſt; yea, is not the deſtruction
and ruine of it, with the grinding of the faces and breaking
of the bones, with the ſuppreſſion and cruſhing of thoſe that
hold it forth unto us, conſulted, ſtudied, and attempted by ſome
that would be thought Pillars and prime men in the Houſe and
Temple of God? And have they not a great vote of the generality
of people, who know little of God, or his Wayes, concurring with
them, to ſtrengthen their hand herein? May we not ſay of this
WAY, as the *Jews* ſometime ſaid unto *Paul*, concerning the Doctrine
of Chriſt which he preached, with thoſe that profeſſed it;
We know that this Sect is every where ſpoken againſt? Act. 28. 22. So Act.28. 22.
then in caſe it ever ſhall appear, or be found to be a *WAY* of God,
we are in a *Præmunire* for the preſent, and have forfeited our peace,
help and comfort in God, as touching deliverance from our preſent
dangers and miſeries, by this our *fighting againſt him.* I preſume
you will all readily acknowledge and confeſſe, that if there be
ſuch a ſin ruling and raigning amongſt us, as *fighting againſt God*,
this of all other, is like to be the *Achan*, the *Troubler of our Iſrael*; that
betrays our armies, our faithfull and valiant men into the hands of
their and our enemies, and that makes us ever and anon, retrograde
in our motions and tendencies towards reſt and peace. *Who ever hath
hardened himſelf againſt him* (ſaith *Job*, as wee heard before) *and* Job 9. 4.
proſpered? If this be but granted, it is enough to demonſtrate our
caſe and condition to be very dangerous and doubtfull, at the beſt:

For whether that *WAY* we ſpeak of, which is ſo generally troden and trampled upon like clay and mire in the ſtreets, as well by the foot of ignorance and prophaneneſſe, as of learning and better accompliſhment, be the *WAY* of God, or no; moſt certaine it is, that all the wit, wiſdome, parts, learning, judgement, that have encountered and oppoſed it hitherto, have not been able by any demonſtrative or concluding proof, to overthrow that title or claim which it maketh unto God as the Author and Founder of it. Therefore unto me it is a thing of the ſaddeſt conſideration under heaven, and of more grievous portendance unto us, then any thing elſe, (as far as I am able to diſcern) that we ſhould hang the great weight of the peace and ſafety of a whole Nation, all our hopes and expectations of help and aſſiſtance from God in our greateſt extremities, upon the brittle pin of ſo doubtfull a diſputation, as that which is maintained, and yet depending, between the one *WAY* and the other. For in caſe that *WAY* againſt which the ſpirits of men are ſo generally and fiercely bent, ſhall at laſt be found to be the *Way* of God, we are all this while look'd upon from heaven as *fighters againſt God*, and ſo have as good as given hoſtages to our enemies, that wee never mean to proſper, or do any great thing againſt them. Whereas, if men would but follow *Gamaliels* counſel in the Text, and refrain themſelves for a ſeaſon from laying either violent hands, or tongues upon this *Way*, untill God had either untied, or cut the knot, till he had given ſentence againſt it, the *doubtfulneſſe* of the *diſputation*, need not, would not be prejudiciall in the leaſt, either to our preſent proceedings, or future peace: and men do but make themſelves *wiſe above that which is written*[o]; yea, above that which is either *Reaſon* or *Faith*, to think, or ſpeak otherwiſe.

If it be objected, that Reformation ſuffers and loſeth time, becauſe that *Way* is not yet hedg'd up with thornes, but men are ſuffered to walk in it.

I anſwer, Firſt, If the *Way* be one of thoſe *VVayes* which call God Father; Reformation indeed ſuffers, and loſeth time, but not becauſe this *way* is not hedg'd up with thorns, but becauſe it is not laid more open, becauſe it is not repaired and made more paſſable by the favour and countenance of men in place, whether Miniſters or others; that ſo the people of God, whoſe hearts are towards it, may walk therein without feare.

2. That reformation (ſo called) which is the apple of ſo many eyes, and the joy of ſo many hearts, needs ſuffer nothing, nor loſe an hours time, though the *Way* we ſpeak of, be occupied in peace by thoſe, whoſe feet by the light of Gods Word and Spirit (at leaſt as they conceive) are guided into it. For what doth the poor Flie ſitting on the top of the wheel to hinder the Waggoner from driving on his way? If the reſidue of the Nation be ſubjected to this Reformation, the Nation it ſelf may be ſaid to be reformed (according to ſuch a denomination, as this Reformation will afford) notwithſtanding ſuch a number of perſons (comparatively ſo inconſiderable, I mean, as touching their * number) as adhere to this *Way*, be not concluded in it. During the regency of Prelaticall extravagancy, there were many Non-conformiſts; yea, ſeverall Congregations of people in the Land, who openly diſclaimed and proteſted againſt that government; and yet the Nation was look'd upon as Epiſcopally *reformed*, notwithſtanding. The irregularity of the mountains and valleys in the ſurface of the earth, troubles no mans opinion concerning the perfect roundneſſe of it, becauſe it is ſwallowed up into victory by the vaſtneſſe of the globe. *John* ſaith, that *this whole world lieth in wickedneſſe*, notwithſtanding a remnant who were born of God. The gleanings of Independency (ſo called) will not hinder the vintage of Presbytery.

* In ſeverall populous towns in the *Low-Countries*, ſcarce every 5th, nay, not every 8th perſon (as I have been credibly informed) is immembred into any of their Churches, and yet the government of the Nation is reputed Presbyteriall.

1 Joh. 5. 19.

3. If a complete Nationall Reformation be indeed the Garland or Crown that is contended for, let but *Presbytery* beſtir her ſelf, and act her part within her Juriſdiction, with as much diligence, wiſdome and faithfulneſs, as the *Congregationall Way* will undertake to act hers amongſt her Proſelytes; and there will not be the leaſt occaſion to feare, but that the whole and entire body of the Nation will ſhine with the beauty and luſtre of a perfect Reformation. If this *Way* ſhall be found tardy, or looſe, and not to keep pace with her ſiſter in carrying on the work of Reformation, even her *enemies themſelves being Judges*, let her ſuffer; yea, let her with her children be caſt out of doors. Therefore it is but a frivolous and putid ſlander caſt upon her, when ſhe is charged with enmity to Reformation: But,

4. (And laſtly) I would gladly know, what, or what manner of Reformation can reaſonably be expected, or hoped for, without her. Such a Reformation, as that whereby that Angel

of darkneſſe, Satan is reformed, when he *is transformed into an An-*
2 Cor.11.14. *gel of light* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) is no reformation of deſires: open looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe reformed into Pharaſaicall hypocriſie, brings in little to Religion. For what ſaith our Saviour of ſuch a Reformation as this? *Verily I ſay unto you, that Publicans and*
Matth.21.31. *Harlots go before you into the Kingdome of God.* If then ſuch a Reformation as this ſhould take place,it is much to be feared, that when the Genealogie of it ſhall be ſought, it will be found to be of the houſe and linage of that Reformation, which the *Scribes* and *Pha-*
Matth.23.15. *riſees* attempted in the world, when *they compaſſed Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte; and when he was made, they made him twofold more a childe of hell,* then he was before; yea, *then they were themſelves*; Or, what is the Reformation, wherein the *Way* wee ſpeak of, cannot be admitttd to have either part or fellowſhip? Will it take the *members of an Harlot, and make them the members of Chriſt*, whether either *Chriſt*,or ſuch *members* themſelves,will or no? Or will it undertake to reconcile darkneſſe with light, to ſettle a communion betwixt *Chriſt* and *Belial*, to throw down the partition wall, and make the Wilderneſſe of the world the Garden of God,the Church and the world enter-commoners? Or what is the glory or greatneſſe of the deſign of it, that the Congregationall *Way* is counted unworthy to be ſo much as a ſtander by, and to behold it? Will it lift up its hand, to quaſh and cruſh, to break the hearts and bones of the one half of the moſt religiouſly affected, and beſt conſcienced people in the Land,for trading in Apes and Peacocks, for holding ſome erroneous opinions (perhaps erroneouſly ſo called) as if it ſelf were the Lord of infallibility, and had a *non eſſe errare* ſettled by God, as an inheritance upon it? I profeſſe ingenuouſly, that when I put my ſelf into a poſture of the greateſt indulgency I am able,to conſider of the reformation ſo much ſpoken of, and even conflict with my ſpirit, to forme and caſt the poſſible effects and fruits of it to the greateſt advantage, I am not able to apprehend any thing deſireable likely to come of it, either in reſpect of a civill, or religious accommodation unto the Nation, above what might be expected, and that upon terms of a far more promiſing hope, from the other *Way* which indureth ſo much contradiction from men. But I apparently foreſee many inconveniences, and thoſe not of a light or contemptible importance likely

likely to attend it,for which no place would be found in the other *Way*.Particularly,it is to me in ſtead of all arguments and demonſtrations, that no Reformation is according to the minde of God and of Jeſus Chriſt, which is deſtructive to the edification of the Saints, and directly impeding their *growth in grace,and in the knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* And whether ſuch a Reformation (if yet it be lawfull ſo to call it) which injoynes the Saints to ſit under, and hold themſelves to ſuch Paſtors, with whom their hearts cannot cloſe in that relation with any tolerable ſatisfaction, nor yet are capable of his Miniſtery,or any edification by it,be not under that condemnation, I leave to men that have not ſold themſelves under partialitie, to judge and determine.

If it be ſaid, but men ſhall have libertie to chooſe what Paſtor they pleaſe, and to ſit under what Miniſtery they deſire, if they will but chooſe their dwellings accordingly. I anſwer:

1. There may be (and I beleeve are) many of a rich anoynting from God for the work of the Miniſtery, and much deſired by a conſiderable number of godly perſons, in Paſtorall relation, who muſt ſay their conſciences nay, to accept of a Parochiall charge. In this caſe the change of a mans houſe will doe nothing towards the bleſſing of his ſoule; if ſuch a Reformation, as moſt mens thoughts run upon, ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

2. All the dwellings within the Parochiall line, relating to the Paſtor that is deſired, may be fill'd with Inhabitants already; and ſo there is no place, or poſſibility(at leaſt for the preſent) for him whoſe ſoule longeth after that Paſtor, to enjoy him :and when,or whether ever whileſt he liveth,the door now ſhut againſt him will be open, no man knoweth.

3. Many times the ſituation and conveniency of a mans preſent dwelling for trade, imployment, &c. is ſuch, that he cannot remove,but at the perill of his eſtate, and ruining himſelfe and his whole family. And how they, who ſhall compell men, either to ſacrifice their peace,comfort,and ſubſiſtence in this preſent world, or elſe run the hazard of loſing a ſubſiſtence in that which is to come, will anſwer it either before the righteous God, or reaſonable men, is above my apprehenſion.

4. This liberty of chooſing Paſtors only by chooſing houſes,is ſo conditioned,that it ſmiles only upon the rich, (and that but ſome-

what faintly neither)but frowns upon the poor;and ſo is partiall, and therefore not Chriſtian. He that hath enough of that,which Eccleſ.10.19. (as *Solomon* ſaith) *anſwers all things*,may probably be able to accommodate himſelf within the precincts of what pariſh he pleaſeth, in point of dwelling; as either by buying out ſome Inhabitant, or by purchaſing ground, and building upon it, or the like; but the caſe of the poor man is many times ſuch,that he cannot tell where to finde another hole in all the world to hide his head in, beſides that wherein it is hid already. So that this liberty of chooſing a Paſtor,being nothing elſe,if plainly interpreted,but onely a liberty of chooſing ſuch or ſuch a Pariſh determinately to dwell in, is little better then a meer collusion, in reſpect of thoſe that are poor, and (indeed) rather an upbraiding of them with their poverty, then any gratification of them with a liberty.

5. (And laſtly) ſuch a liberty as this we now ſpeak of, were it more valueable then it is, is no gratuity, benefit or bleſſing of that Reformation ſo importunely demanded and preſſed for by many, being nothing elſe, but what was every mans permiſſion and enjoyment under the iron rod of Epiſcopall tyranny.I am more beholding to every man that comes neer me, for not taking away my life,then I am to any Reformation whatſoever, for giving me liberty to chooſe my Paſtor upon ſuch terms. This for anſwer in full to that undue charge againſt the Congregationall *Way*,wherein it was attainded of inconſiſtency with, and enmitie againſt Reformation.

ob: A ſecond objection levied againſt it, and all ſufferance of it,by thoſe that are adverſaries to it, is, that if it be permitted quietly to walk up and down amongſt us, and not be ſuppreſſed, it will ſoon make the Land unquiet,fill the Land with troubles, tumults, diviſions,diſtractions,diſſentions,diſcontents, confuſions, in City, in Countrey, in relations, in families, and where not? To this alſo I anſwer.

1. That peremptorineſſe and height of confidence in an accuſer, is no ſigne at all of reality or truth in the accuſation. *Wee know* John 9. 24. (ſay the *Jews* concerning Chriſt) *that this man is a ſinner*, Joh.9.24. And again, *Joh.* 8. 48. *Say wee not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and haſt a Devill?* And yet for all their *knowledge*, and confidence of *well-ſpeaking*,the Lord Chriſt was never the more either a *Sinner*,

or a *Samaritan*, or *had a Devill.* The Way we ſpeak of, is never the neerer the guilt of thoſe things that are charged upon it, becauſe her accuſers bewray ſo little tenderneſſe or heſitancy in drawing up their charge.

2. Nor is the tragicall dreſſe or pointed ſtile of an accuſation any demonſtrative proof of a guilt commenſurable thereunto; no, nor yet of any proportion or degree of guilt at all. Want of crime and delinquency, either in things or perſons, which are accuſed, many times makes a greater noyſe in the accuſation, then a reality or fulneſſe of guilt would do. Innocency hath begotten the rankeſt and fierceſt accuſations that ever were managed by the tongues or pens of men. *Thou loveſt all devouring words* (ſaid *David*) *O thou deceitfull* (or, falſe) *tongue.* They that accuſe either upon knowledge or feare of little or no guilt in the accuſed, ſtill labour to lay on accuſation enough, leſt nothing otherwiſe ſhould be beleeved by the Judge. That mount of accuſation which is raiſed ſo high againſt the *Way* we now maintain, doth not at all prove that there is any thing in it that deſerves battery. Pſal. 52. 4.

3. There is no ſubſtantiall reaſon at all can be given, why this *Way* ſhould occaſion troubles, diviſions, diſcontents, or the like, above the rate of that other *Way*, which ſo much magnifies it ſelfe againſt it; except (haply) this, that it hath more of God and Chriſt in it, then that other: and then it is no marvell if it be more offenſive, and troubleſome to the world. But ſuppoſe both equally intereſſed in this, I affirm and undertake to demonſtrate, that in the nature, frame, and conſtitution of it otherwiſe, it is every whit as gentle, ſweet, complying and accommodating, and no whit more threatning or portending troubles or diſtractions, then the other; yea, that in all ſuch conſiderations as theſe, it hath the preheminence: For,

1. It ſeeketh not, it attempteth not the moleſtation, harm, or diſturbance of any ſort of men that are contrary-minded to it; it thinketh no evill, it ſpeaketh no evill of ſuch: if it conceives them upright and faithfull with God and Jeſus Chriſt, it imbraceth them with all love, tenderneſſe and honour, as *partakers of like precious faith* with it ſelf; and nothing doubts, but that they ſerve and worſhip God with as much ſincerity and ſingleneſſe of heart, and are accordingly accepted by him in their *Way*, as it ſelfe.

2. If God ſhould pleaſe to give it favour in the eyes, and intereſt in the hearts of the powers of this world, it thinks it very un-Chriſtian and unworthy, to arme it ſelfe with this intereſt, to fight againſt the peace of the conſciences of other men. If any of this *Way* have miſcarried in any of theſe particulars, they have done it as men, and not as children of this *Way*; the principles of their *Way* taught them better things. And why, or how a *Way*, baptized into no worſe, or harder ſpirit then this, ſhould come to be arraigned, as a troubler of State, or ſtrife-maker, a diſſention-breeder amongſt men, except it be by a ſpirit of contention and ſtrife indeed, is to me a thing incomprehenſible. Neverthéleſſe, it is no new thing, that both the wayes and ſervants of God ſhould be charged with ſuch crimes and demerits, not onely whereof they are wholly innocent and free, but which have a ſpeciall contrariety to ſome ſuch grace or vertue, wherein they have a remarkable and choice preheminence above others. Thus *Joſeph*, the great mirrour of chaſtity, was accuſed of Adultery, *Gen.* 39. *Moſes*, the meekeſt man upon earth, of ambition, and ſelf-aſſuming, *Numb.* 16. *Elijah* of being the troubler of *Iſrael*, 1 *King.* 18. who was the Chariot and Horſe-men of *Iſrael*, to defend it, 2 *King.* 2. The Lord Chriſt himſelfe, *in whom the God-head dwelt bodily*, of *having a Devill*, *Joh.* 8. and ſo of being *an enemy unto Ceſar*, when as it was, and is he, *by whom Kings reign*; with many the like. Therefore however it may ſeem ſtrange that a *Way* of God, which is eminenly ſet, ſtrongly bent, and (in a manner) every wayes calculated for peace, ſhould ſuffer in the tongues and thoughts of men as a diſturber of States, and ſower of diſſentions amongſt men, yet is there nothing in this, but what hath been acted, and that over and over upon the Theatre of the world formerly.

If it be here replied and ſaid; Yea, but experience riſeth up, and confirms the truth of that accuſation and charge againſt the *Way* you ſpeak of, which you would wipe off; this ſhews and proves againſt all deniall and exception, that where your *Way* is entertained, Congregations are torn, families rent, relations diſtanced and divided, &c.

I anſwer, firſt, that *Ariſtotle* long ſince obſerved, that μετὰ τȣ̃το, ὡς διὰ τȣ̃το, was a very frequent Paralogiſme or miſtake amongſt men, nothing is more ordinary then for men to range conſequents and effects under one & the ſame notion, eſpecially where the diſproportion of cauſality is not very notorious and broad. A man in reaſon can hardly think, that any man, *compos mentis*, (as we uſe to ſay) ſhould be ſo defective or weak in his intellectualls, as to think that the building of *Tenderton* Steeple, ſhould be the cauſe of *Goodwins Sands*, only becauſe theſe ſands were never known to be before the building of that Steeple; yet old Mr. *Latimer* relates the Story in one of his Sermons, and improves it to very good purpoſe: By ſuch a form of arguing as this, *Judas* his betraying his Maſter, ſhould have been the effect of the womans powring out *that box of oyntment upon his head*, mentioned *Mat.* 26. 7. For he never betrayed him untill this oyntment was powred out upon him; and immediately after, he did. The *Way* we ſpeak of, is never the more any cauſe of troubles, diſſentions, or diviſions, becauſe troubles, diſſentions and diviſions, many times follow upon the embracement and entertainment of it.

2. If troubles or diviſions were the proper effects of this *Way*, then the more, and more generally it were taken up and practiſed in a familie, Citie, or Countrey, the more troubles and diviſions there would be. Effects are ſtill found in proportion to their cauſes, where nothing interpoſeth to hinder it. But where it is generally aſſented and ſubmitted unto, whether in families, relations, or otherwiſe, there is as much unitie, love, and peace, (as touching matter of government) as where Presbyterie hath its higheſt throne. Therefore the reaſon why troubles and diviſions ſometimes accompany it, is not becauſe it is intertained, but becauſe it is not intertained ſufficiently, or with that generalitie of conſent, which is deſireable.

3. When troubles and diviſions are occaſioned in relations, families, Congregations, &c. by the meeting together of two oppoſite wayes, why ſhould the one *way* be ſtill burthened and charged with the occaſion of ſuch troubles, and the other acquitted, there being no ground or reaſon at all, why either that which is acquitted, ſhould be judged more innocent; or that which is charged, more obnoxious or peccant, in this kind. Nay,

4. If matters were duly and fairly examined between the two Combatants in this caſe, the *Way* we plead for, would be found *via lactea*, the candid, harmleſſe, and peaceable *way*: and her cor-

rivall or competitreſſe, *via ſanguinea*, the trouble and ſtrife-making Prov. 13. 10. way. *Onely by pride* (ſaith *Solomon*) *cometh contention.* Surely that way which commandeth homage and ſubjection unto her from all her fellowes, and threatens to breake them all in pieces like a potters veſſell with a rod of iron, if they will not bow, and deny themſelves for her ſake, is the way of *pride*, and ſo of *contention*, (according to *Solomons* Logique) not that which is gentle, and eaſie to be entreated by all others, claiming no ſuperioritie or juriſdiction over any. If there be any claſhing or unkindneſſe between the two wayes, *Independency* (ſo called) and *Presbyterie*, when they meet together, either in a relation, familie, &c. the very complexion of the latter bewrayes that to be ſtill the foundreſſe of the quarrell. To me it is a wonder of the firſt magnitude, how men come to have ſo much ground of hope as to ſet their foot upon, of compoſing differences and diſtractions, of ſetling peace and love throughout the Nation, by exalting one way of Diſcipline, of Church-Government, for the treading downe and trampling under Eſa. 9. 21. foot all others. If *Ephraim be againſt Manaſſeh*, is it any wayes like but that *Manaſſeh* will be *againſt Ephraim*? And God himſelfe Gen. 16. prophecying of *Iſhmael*, told his mother, that he would *be a wild man*: and *that his hand ſhould be againſt every man; and every mans hand againſt him.* Undoubtedly that way, whoſe hand ſhall be againſt every way, will find that the hand of every way will be againſt it: and then what manner of peace can reaſonably be expected under the predominancy of ſuch a way? That *way* which ſhall be able to *out-reaſon*, not that which ſhall *out-clubbe* all other wayes, will at laſt exalt unitie, and be it ſelfe exalted by gathering in all other Prov. 12. 27. wayes unto it. *Solomon* tells us, that all that is *taken in hunting*, is Prov. 20. 21. not alwayes *roaſted*; and that *an inheritance may be haſtily gotten, and yet the end thereof not be bleſſed*: and the Prophet *Habakkuk* de- Hab 2. 12. nounceth a *woe* againſt him that *ſhall build a towne with bloud.* But,

5. I would gladly know what the plaintiffe in the objection means, by diſtractions, rents, diviſions, in relations, families, Congregations, &c. If he means onely this, that the father goes to heare one Miniſter in one place, and the ſon another Miniſter, in another, and that ſome within the ſame parochiall line goe to this Miniſter, or are members of this Church, others to another Miniſter, and are members of another Church, and the like, &c. I anſwer,

ſwer, That in this caſe, I know no more occaſion, (at leaſt no more neceſſitie) of any diſtraction, rent, or diviſion, then when the father being free of one Company, as ſuppoſe of Merchant-taylors, ſhall ſtill upon occaſion of the meeting of this Company, repaire to the hall belonging to it; and the ſon being free of another, as perhaps of the company of Grocers, ſhall upon the like occaſion repaire to the hall appertaining to them. Who knows not that the members of all the ſeverall Companies in *London*, dwell ſcatteringly and promiſcuouſly up and downe the Citie, with the greateſt irregularitie of intermixture that lightly can be, and without any obſervation of their relations to their reſpective Companies, ſundry members of twenty ſeverall Companies (it may be) inhabiting within one and the ſame pariſh; and yet without any complaint or inconvenience of *rents, diſtractions, or diviſions?* Or if by *rents, diſtractions, and diviſions*, he means diſtances or alienations in affections; nor can theſe with any face of reaſon be charged upon that *way*, whoſe cauſe we plead; becauſe it is a maine principle and maxime in this *way*, to hold terms of love and Chriſtian correſpondence, with all perſons of what judgement ſoever in point of Government, if they be godly, as well as with her owne children (as hath in effect been argued formerly.) But in this caſe the Roman proverb (it ſeems) muſt be verified; *Æmilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius*. Or 3. (and laſtly) if by *rents, diſtractions, &c.* he means, the ſhaking or troubling of mens judgements, raiſing doubts or ſcruples in mens conſciences concerning the way they went peaceably in before: I anſwer, 1. That if they were built upon ſure and cleere foundations in their former way, there is not the leaſt ground or reaſon why they ſhould be troubled or ſhaken in their judgements, becauſe they ſee another *way* acted and practiſed by others: or 2. if they were but at peradventure in their former way, and it was not the knowledge, but the ignorance of the truth, that both put them into it, and kept them in it, they have no cauſe to complaine of being awakened out of ſo ſinfull and dangerous a ſleep, though it were never ſo ſweet and pleaſing to them. But,

6. (and laſtly) Suppoſe that all which the objection chargeth upon the *way* we ſpeake for, be granted for truth, that *where this Way comes and is entertained, Congregations are torne, families rent, relations diſtanced, &c.* Yet this maketh much more for it, then againſt

gainſt it ; becauſe ſuch figures and characters as theſe, are the knowne impreſſions of the Goſpel upon the world,where it comes Luk. 12. 51. &c. in power,and is entertained in truth.*Thinke yee* (ſaith our Saviour) *that I am come to give peace on earth ? I tell you, nay, but rather debate. For from henceforth there ſhall be five in one houſe divided, three againſt two, and two againſt three. The father ſhall be divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father : the mother againſt the daughter, and the daughter againſt the mother : the mother in law againſt her daughter in law, and the daughter in law againſt her mother in law.* Nor is it to be conceived that theſe *diviſions* in relations and families, foretold by Chriſt, as the common and ordinary effects and conſequents of the Goſpel (for in different reſpects they may be either) are to be limited onely to ſuch either relations or families, wherein the ground or occaſion of the diviſion ſhould be, the receiving of the Goſpel in the maine truth and ſubſtance of it by the one partie, the other partie abſolutely rejecting it, as if they were onely to take place in ſuch caſes as this;but they are to be extended to ſuch both families and relations alſo, where ſome particular and ſpeciall points or truths of the Goſpel are intertained by one partie, and rejected by another, though both agree as well in the beliefe, as in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel in the generall. Experience ſhews that *rents & diviſions* take place in both,as well, yea,and that with as much heat and diſtemper of affection, in the latter caſe and upon the latter occaſion, as in the former. Now if the queſtion in this latter caſe be, Whether the occaſion of the diviſion be rather to be imputed to the truth held and practiſed by the one partie, or to the error held and practiſed in oppoſition to the truth, by the other : The anſwer is, that where all were before bound up in unitie and peace, by a common band of error, there the occaſion of the diviſion muſt needs be imputed unto the truth comming amongſt them. Therefore were it granted, that the way ſo much conteſted againſt, did indeed occaſion, *rents,diviſions, diſtractions*, in relations, in families, in Congregations where it comes, this would rather *turne unto* it *for a teſtimony*, and aſſert its originall from God, then otherwiſe : The Goſpel it ſelfe works no otherwiſe then thus, where it is preached and intertained. And as *Ariſtotle* ſuppoſeth, that in caſe any piece or fragment were broken off from the maine body of the Heavens, it would move circularly, ly, according to the naturall motion of the maine body; in like manner any particular opinion or practiſe which moves, acts, and works, according to the manner and tenor of that motion, acting, and working, which are genuine and proper to the Goſpel, is ſo much the more likely to be a parcell or branch of the Goſpel: but however, ſuch a moving, acting, and working as this, can with no ſemblance or colour of reaſon, be drawn into any contrary interpretation, or be made an argument of the nonconformitie of it unto the truth.

A third objection againſt that *way* whoſe condemnation outruns her triall day and way, in the world, is, that it opens a doore to all errors, hereſies, and unſound opinions, yea to all looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, and conſequently it cannot but be a thing diſpleaſing unto God, and ſo prejudiciall to the peace and ſafetie of the Nation, if it ſhould be tolerated, or practiſed amongſt us. But to theſe things alſo full and clear anſwers are not wanting. For,

Firſt, it being certain that error cannot be healed or ſuppreſſed but by the manifeſtation of the truth, as darkneſſe cannot be deſtroyed or removed but by the ſhining of the light; that way which affords the greateſt advantages and the beſt incouragements unto men, both for the ſearching out, and bringing forth into light the truth being found, muſt needs be ſo farre from opening doores unto *errors, hereſies, unſound opinions*, &c. that it ſteers the moſt advantagious and hopefull courſe that lightly can be taken, for the evicting, and conſequently for the ſuppreſſion of them. I need not adde, that it is the congregationall *way* (and this onely amongſt all its fellows) that rejoyceth in the method of this warfare and advance, againſt thoſe enemies of God, and Religion, errors and hereſies. And,

Secondly, for the way ſir-named *Presbyterian*, which conjures all mens gifts, parts, and induſtrie into a ſynodicall circle, and ſuffers them onely to dance there, as it may poſſibly ſhut the doores againſt ſome errors and hereſies, which were not like to ſtay long, in caſe they ſhould enter under the other *way*; ſo it is in every whit as much poſſibilitie and danger, of ſhutting the doore upon, and compelling ſuch errors and hereſies as are alreadie gotten in, and otherwiſe have a mind to be gone, to ſtay

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by it, and ſo to infeſt and annoy the truth, and peace of the Churches of Chriſt, againſt their wils. But,

Thirdly, I would gladly learn of the ſons of this objection, how, which way, or in what reſpect the *way* ſo much objected againſt, commits this folly-deed of opening a doore unto errors and hereſies. Certain I am, firſt, that this *way* hates both the one and the other with as *perfect an hatred*, as her competitreſſe doth. Secondly, I fully beleeve, that this *way* is as diligent, faithfull, and induſtrious to ſlay theſe enemies of Chriſt by *the ſword of the Spirit*, (which is in ſpeciall manner conſecrated for ſuch executions) as the other way. Thirdly, if the error be dangerous, amounting to, or neer an hereſie, after two or three admonitions (that is, according to her warrant from Heaven) ſhe caſts it out of the line of her communication, unto him who caſt it in (I mean, Satan.) If to hate errors and hereſies, to preach with all diligence and faithfulneſſe againſt errors and hereſies, to excommunicate errors and hereſies, be to open a doore unto error and hereſies, then muſt the adverſaries of the *way* whereof we ſpeak, be juſtified in their accuſation of her: otherwiſe they ſpeak at the utmoſt perill of their reputations, when they lay ſuch things to her charge.

If it be here replyed and ſaid; Yea, but all this notwithſtanding, the *way* you plead for, is but feeble-handed, for the ſuppreſſion of errors and hereſies; becauſe theſe, though hated, preach'd againſt, and caſt out of the Church by excommunication, may yet live and gather head again in the world, except error and errant be further reſtrained by a ſecular hand, and hereſie and heretique put to ſilence together in the grave. And this, which is the moſt, if not the onely effectuall means to preſerve the wheat from thoſe tares, the *way* of your deſires exerciſeth not, nor yet approveth.

I anſwer: firſt, we preſume that *Priſons* and *Swords* are no *Church-officers*, nor any appurtenances to any Eccleſiaſtique authority in what form of Government ſoever.

Secondly, we ſuppoſe that the Lord Chriſt ſo far tendered the ſpirituall ſafety and peace of his Churches, as to leave them ſufficiently furniſhed, and every wayes appointed with internall proviſions, for the effectuall procurement and preſervation of them, without any concurrence of any heterogeneall or externall power. Eſpecially conſidering, that he fore-ſaw, that theſe Churches of his, for the ſpace of three hundred yeers together, and ſomewhat more (during which terme he knew likewiſe that they would continue in their greateſt puritie, and perfection of love and loyaltie towards him) were not like to have any accommodation at all in this kind from any ſecular or civill power.

Thirdly, though the Churches of Chriſt, during this period of time wherein they had no comportance with any ſecular arm for their preſervation either in this or any other kind, were not wholly free from *errors and hereſies*; yet did they quit and defend themſelves againſt the danger ſpreading and troubleſomeneſſe of them upon better terms, and with farre better ſucceſſe, then they were able to do afterwards, when they had an arme of fleſh and a ſword in it, to aſſiſt them. Note this.

Fourthly, if perſons delivered up unto Satan by the Church, whether for Error, Hereſie, or other crime, were preſently to be cut off by the ſecular Sword, all opportunitie for the effectuall and ſaving work of that ordinance of Chriſt upon the perſons ſo delivered up, would be cut off alſo. The Apoſtle, 1 *Corinth.* 5. 5. expreſly affirms the end of Excommunication or *delivering up unto Satan*, to be the *deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus.* And 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. he ſaith, that he had *delivered Hymeneus and Alexander unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaſpheme.* Now as naturall medicines and phyſicall receits, muſt have a time to work, before they can in an ordinarie courſe of providence produce their moſt proper and deſired effects; in like manner the ordinances and means which the Lord Chriſt hath graciouſly appointed for the everlaſting ſalvation of the precious ſouls of men, muſt, according to the nature and condition of their reſpective workings, and the tenor of Gods providence obſerved for the time of his falling in with them to make them effectuall, have their full and juſt allowance of time given and permitted unto them, to work upon men effectually. And whoſoever ſhall limit or ſtraiten the providence of God, in this kind, by any haſty or violent taking away a ſoul from under the influence and working of any ordinance of Chriſt appointed for his ſalvation, before the bleſſed work of

Repentance

Repentance be accompliſhed in him, will be arraigned before the tribunall of the living God, as acceſſarie to the blood of that ſoul, except he can ſhew a better warrant from God for ſuch an action, then I know any. And God himſelf having no where preſcribed or limited any determinate or ſet time, within which he intends to make the ſentence of Excommunication after the paſſing of it by the Church, effectuall to the ſaving of the ſoul, or otherwiſe never to do it, I conceive it can be no leſſe then an act of high preſumption in any man to undertake any ſuch preſcription or limitation. As God by the voice of the Goſpel cal's ſome at the third and ſixth houre; ſo he cals others at the ninth, and ſome at the eleventh houre: and why may he not work ſavingly, by the ſentence of Excommunication with as much libertie, and difference in reſpect of time? And this ſentence being the laſt and utmoſt means which God is like to afford a poore hardened, impenitent ſoul for the eternall peace and ſalvation of it, how can it but be conceived an act moſt unworthy of Chriſtian bowels, to cut him off from this alſo, whilſt God is pleaſed to ſpare him? If it be here objected and ſaid, But if an heretique be ſuffered to live, he is in danger of infecting others, and deſtroying them eternally I anſwer: firſt, ſo is a drunkard, a fornicatour, a ſwearer, a covetous perſon, with the like; the lives of all theſe kinds of ſinners are of as dangerous a conſequence in reſpect of infecting, yea and of deſtroying the ſouls of others, as the life of an heretique is: and yet no man (I preſume) judgeth this a ſufficient ground why ſuch men ſhould be puniſhed with death. Secondly, as for thoſe that are within the Church, they are not capable of any communion or commerce with an Heretique that is caſt out by Excommunication, and ſo are not in danger of being infected by him: and for thoſe that are without, theſe are infected already with a diſeaſe every whit as mortall, as any hereſie, I mean unbelief. So that infection with hereſie, will not much impaire the eſtates or conditions of theſe. Thirdly, (and laſtly) the truth is, that an Heretique being dead (eſpecially if puniſhed with death for his opinion ſake) ſpeaketh in his ſurviving hereſie with every whit as much authoritie, and conſequently with every whit as much danger of infecting others therewith, as he could do if he were alive, if not with more. And ſo,

Math. 20. 6.

Fifthly, (and laſtly) concerning other civill means for the ſuppreſſion and reſtraint of thoſe ſpirituall evils, errors, hereſies, &c. as impriſonment, baniſhment, interdictions, finings, &c. both reaſon and experience concurre in this demonſtration, that ſuch fetters as theſe put upon the feet of errors and hereſies to ſecure and keep them under, ſtill have prov'd (and are like to prove no other, but) wings whereby they raiſe themſelves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gain an opportunitie of a further and ranker propagation of themſelves in the world. It was an obſervation of *Tacitus* long ſince, that *punitis ingeniis gliſcit authoritas*; To puniſh men of parts and wit, is to caſt a ſpirit of Authoritie upon them, and to make their reputation glowe. Men of ordinarie capacitie, and vulgar apprehenſion, are and ever will be inclinable to think, that men of wiſdome and worth will never expoſe themſelves to ſufferings, but for that which is weightie, and which hath more in it, then every man ſeeth. And beſides, men of better breed, may eaſily be ſwayed by ſuch a principle as this, that wiſe men, whileſt they have the advantage and odds of their adverſaries in *reaſon*, will never renounce or diſclaim this ſo honourable an advantage by calling in the more ignoble aſſiſtance of horn and hoof to their aid. It is true, when Chriſt was handled with this rough hand we ſpeak of, that piece of prophecie was verified; *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered*; but ordinarily the ſmiting of the Shepherd or head of any Sect or error, is the gathering together, yea the multiplication and increaſe, of his ſheep. But

Fourthly (to the main objection laſt propounded) whereas the innocent *way* is condemned as opening a doore to all looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, ſhe may juſtly take up *Davids* complaint, and ſay, *Cruell witneſſes did riſe up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not.* Pſal. 35. 11. The very truth is, that this way, above all her fellows, is ſo farre from holding any intelligence or correſpondence with looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, that her face is ſet to advance righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe in all her quarters. Her heart runs parallel with *Davids* heart in thoſe his meditations and vows, *Pſal.* 101. 3, 4. &c. *I will ſet no wicked thing before mine eyes: I hate the work of them that turn* *aſide: it ſhall not cleave to me. I will not know a wicked perſon. Who ſo privily ſlandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off: him that hath an high looke, and a proud heart, will I not ſuffer. Mine eyes ſhall be upon the faithfull of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, ſhall ſerve me. He that worketh deceit, ſhall not dwell within my houſe: he that telleth lies ſhall not tarrie in my ſight. I will early deſtroy all the wicked of the land: that I may cut off all wicked doers from the Citie of the Lord.* This is ſuch a draught and copie of Reformation as the *Way* we ſpeak of (*mutatis mutandis*) emulates, and aſpires unto. If *David* in thoſe reſolutions and practiſes mentioned, opened a doore to looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, then cannot ſhe excuſe her ſelfe from part and fellowſhip with him, in that ſin.

It it be replyed and ſaid; but this *way* taketh care for none in point of holineſſe, but her own: ſhe ſuffereth all the world about her to *lie in wickedneſſe*, and to *ſleep in death*, without looking after them, or taking any pitie or compaſſion on them. To this alſo we anſwer in one word:

That ſhe doth as tenderly, as affectionately deſire and pray for, yea and with as much diligence and faithfulneſſe, yea and prudence of endevour otherwiſe, and likelihood of ſucceſſe, attempts and ſeeks the ſalvation of thoſe that ſit in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death, as any other way can do. It is true, ſhe doth not judge it any wayes conducing towards the quickning of thoſe that *are dead in ſins and treſpaſſes*, to put them into a conceit that they are *living ſtones* (whileſt they are yet dead) by putting them into the building of the *ſpirituall temple* of God: ſhe knows no ſuch method or means of converting ſouls unto God, as this. Nor doth ſhee willingly ſuffer any man *to eat and drink damnation unto himſelf*, to further him in his ſalvation. Nor doth ſhe make faith of apparent unbelief in parents, by baptizing their children, as any wayes accommodating the ſouls either of the one, or of the other. Therefore if ſhee declines ſuch things as theſe, it cannot be argued from hence (except either ignorance, or a worſe Logician, makes the ſyllogiſme) that therefore ſhe neglects or caſts off all care of ſeeking the ſalvation of others; but onely this, that ſhe thinks it no point either of wiſdome or charitie to expoſe her ſelfe to the diſpleaſure of God, by doing

1 Cor. 11. 29.

that, which is more like to expoſe others alſo to the ſame ſtroke, then any wayes to comfort or relieve them. But whatſoever ſhe can reaſonably conceive or judge to be a means any wayes likely to *ſave a ſoul from death*, to *tranſlate* men *from darkneſſe unto life*, ſhe girds her ſelf to miniſter unto the world both farre and neer, in every ſuch thing: She cordially prayes for the converſion of the unconverted, ſhe mourns over them, ſhe cauſes *her light to ſhine before them*, ſhe bears their burthens, ſhe intreats them gently, ſhe feeds their hungry, and cloatheth their naked (as ſhe is able) ſhe recompenceth evill for evill unto none of them, with all ſuch exemplarities of life and converſation, which are ſanctified, and appointed by God for the *winning of thoſe without the Word*, who refuſe *to obey it*. 1 Pet. 3. 1. And beſides all this, (that which is the firſt-born means of converſion) ſhe preacheth the Goſpel with as much diligence, and faithfulneſſe, and power, and with as much libertie and freedome unto all to partake with her in this her miniſtration, as any other way whatſoever: yea, as readie and forward ſhe is as any other, to contribute her proportion to the full, whether in counſell, purſe, or otherwiſe, for the furniſhing of all the candleſticks in the land with burning and ſhining lights, I mean for the erecting and ſetting up a faithfull preaching Miniſtery throughout the Land, yea if it were poſſible, throughout the whole world. Therefore

Fifthly, (and laſtly, to the main objection) whereas this *way* with the permiſſion and ſufferance of it, is burthened with this jealouſie and fear, that it is ſo highly diſpleaſing unto God, that he is not like to turn in mercie unto the Nation, untill it be removed, and all the factors for it taken away. I anſwer.

Firſt, that this jealouſie and fear is of the ſame inſpiration, with that wherewith *Rabſhakeh* of old, ſought to poſſeſſe the heart of the good King *Hezekiah* and the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, that ſo upon the diſcouragement they might be the more willing to compound for their City. Iſa. 36. 7. *But if thou ſay to me, we truſt in the Lord our God; is it not he whoſe high places, and whoſe altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and ſaid to Judah and Jeruſalem, ye ſhall worſhip before this altar?* That which *Hezekiah* had done (in deſtroying Idolatry) with great acceptation in the ſight of God, and which conſequently was in it ſelf a pledge and confirmation unto him and his people that God was and would be with them to ſave them and their Citie out of *Rabſhakehs* hand, this doth this deceived ambitious man contrive into an argument of jealouſie and fear unto them, that God was offended with them; and ſo repreſents their *hope and confidence*, in the ſhape of *diffidence* and deep *diſcouragement* unto them. He that perſwaded the woman, Gen. 3.5. that God knew how that *in the day wherein they ſhould eat of the tree in the middeſt of the garden, their eyes ſhould be opened, and they be like gods*, &c. hath (it ſeems) poſſeſt many amongſt us with this ſemblable apprehenſion, that from the day wherein they ſhall deſtroy that *way* we ſpeak of out of the Land, and ſuppreſſe all thoſe that walk in it, God will be gracious unto them, and remember their iniquities no more; as if to ſacrifice the children in the Fathers ſight, were the onely means of making atonement with him. But

Secondly, how doth this carrie any ſhew or ſhadow of reaſon or truth in it, that God ſhould turn away his face from a State or Nation, for not hating his people, or for refuſing to perſecute his anointed ones? God ſometimes ſaid, *That Nation whom they ſhall ſerve, I will iudge.* Gen. 15. 14. Is his mind ſo far altered in this point, that now he ſhould ſay, the *Nation who ſhall give them libertie, I will iudge?* The generall rule of reſtraint which God hath charged upon States, Kingdoms, and Nations, is this: Pſal.105.15. *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm:* and hath he any where made *Independencie* (ſo called) an exception from this rule? or hath he any where made *Presbyterie* a diſtinguiſhing character of ſuch of his *anointed* ones, who muſt not be *touch'd*, from others of them, who may be cruſh'd, and whoſe *bones may be broken?* Surely *circumciſion* and *uncircumciſion* differed as much, as Presbyterie and Independencie can do: yet the Apoſtle tels us, *Gal.* 6. 15. that *in Jeſus Chriſt neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature.* If Independents be *new creatures*, and born of God, their Brethren need not fear any diſpleaſure or anger from their Father, for ſuffering them to dwell in peace by them in the ſame Land; but have cauſe to rejoyce in ſuch their neighbourhood and ſocietie, as being pillars of the ſame ſtrength with themſelves, to ſupport the State and Nation wherein they dwell. But

Thirdly, (and laſtly) when *mens table becomes a ſnare unto them, and their welfare a trap*, it is a ſigne that God is about *to bow down their backs, if not to make their habitations deſolate.* When the Jews began to reaſon after this manner, (and to act accordingly) *If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and* then *the Romanes ſhall come, and take away both our place and nation*; it was a preſage, that the *Romanes* indeed *would come*, and *take away* both: which they did not many yeers after. *Make the heart of this people fat* (ſaith the Lord by his Prophet, concerning the ſame people) *and make their eares heavie, and ſhut their eyes, leſt they ſee with their eyes, and hear with their eares, and underſtand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* I ſay no more in this, but onely pray with all mine heart, and with all my ſoul, that the people of this Kingdom, may *ſee with their eyes*, and *hear with their eares, and underſtand with their hearts*, that they may *convert, and be healed.* The Heathens were wont to ſay, *Jupiter, quos vult perdere, dementat.* Pſal.69.22. Ver.25. Ioh.11.48. Iſa.6.10.

Another objection leavied againſt the *Way* is this: If this way be let alone, and ſuffered to take place, it will ſtill undermine the credit and comfort, of many worthy and conſcientious Miniſters in the land. For as faſt as they, through the bleſſing of God upon their faithfull labours in the work of the Miniſtery, ſhall convert ſouls unto God; this *Way* will allure them away from them unto it ſelf; whereby their hand muſt needs be enfeebled and diſcouraged to their work. But to this alſo I anſwer.

Firſt, that if that way of Government and worſhip, wherein thoſe good Miniſters ſhall walk, who are ſuppoſed to convert people unto God, be indeed and in truth the *way* of God, there is little ground or cauſe of fear, that any other way ſhould ſeparate between them and their converted ones. For firſt, the verie grace of converſion, being diſpenſed unto theſe by their hand, is a great and ſolemne ingagement upon them, to love and honour them above others. Secondly, the perſon being dearly lov'd, and highly honour'd, gives credit and intereſt both in the judgements and affections of thoſe who do ſo love and honour, to all his matters, as well of opinion as practiſe; at leaſt is compleat armour of proof againſt any prejudice in reſpect of either. Thirdly, when men and women are converted unto God, they are endued with a principle of a neerer and more inward ſympathie and compliance with all the wayes of God, then they had before. So that there is more cauſe for Miniſters to fear the withdrawing of their people from them before their converſion, then after, in caſe the way of worſhip and government which they imbrace, be of God. For in this caſe and ſuppoſition, unconverted ones have no inward ſutableneſſe of ſoul, to incline them to love or delight in this *way*, and conſequently their hearts muſt needs ſit looſe (if they ſtand not in oppoſition) to it: but thoſe that are converted, are baptized into ſuch a ſpirit, which is apt to comport and correſpond with it. Again

Secondly, if the hearts of men and women upon their converſion unto God, are ſo generally found (for otherwiſe there is no place for the jealouſie, which is the ground of the objection) to ſtand in propenſion to this *way*, is not this an argument, if not demonſtrative, yet of a very high importance to evince, that this *way* is of a truth the *Way* of God? *I will wait on thy Name* (ſaith *David*) *for it is good before thy Saints*; or, *becauſe thy* Pſal.52.9. *Saints like it well* (as another tranſlation reads.) So that this great Prophet and King thought the generall approbation and concurrence of the Saints, ſufficiently aſſertive of the acceptablenes of a way or practiſe, in the ſight of God.

Thirdly, thoſe Miniſters who have the ſpirit of this glory caſt upon them by God, to beget ſons and daughters unto him by the Goſpel, have no cauſe to envie the line and meaſure of thoſe who receive them from their hand, upon ſuch terms. That which our Saviour ſpake in another caſe, is every whit as conſi- Act.20 35. derably true in this: *viz.* that *it is a more bleſſed thing to give, then to receive*: And the Apoſtle *Paul* makes no other account, but that his relation of a ſpirituall Father unto the Corinths, his begetting of them by the Goſpel, was much more honourable unto him, then the relation of an Inſtructor, or builder up, was, or 1 Cor.4.15. would be unto others. *For though you have ten thouſand Inſtructors in Chriſt,* (ſaith he) *yet have ye not many Fathers*: *for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the Goſpel.* And elſe-where he counts it a maſter-piece in the ſpirituall building, to lay the foundation.

dation. *According to the grace of God which is given to me, as a wiſe* 1 Cor. 3.10.
maſter-builder I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. So then, *planting* being more Apoſtolicall then *watering* (it was *Paul* that *planted*, and but *Apollos that watered*, 1 *Cor.* 3. 6.) and laying the foundations of life and immortalitie in men, of a more honourable interpretation, then the building of them up in their Faith; the Miniſters ſo much tendered in the objection, have not the leaſt colour for any ſuch grievance or complaint, as is there preſented on their behalf; indeed and in realitie of truth no more, then the Apoſtles themſelves had, for complaining againſt ſuch Miniſters and Paſtors, who fed thoſe flocks of Chriſt which they had firſt converted unto him. *And without all* Hebr. 7. 7.
contradiction (ſaith the Apoſtle) *the leſſer is bleſſed*, but never *envied*, of the greater.

Fourthly (and laſtly) the gracious and bountifull God hath ſo laid it in his counſell and decree, that, though the ſaying be true, which our Saviour taketh notice of, *Joh.* 4. 37. *That one ſoweth, and another reapeth*; yet *both he that ſoweth, and he that reapeth, ſhould rejoyce together*, ver. 36. So that as *Abigail* told *David*, 1 Sam. 25. 30, 31.
that *when the Lord ſhould have done unto him all the good which he had promiſed him, it would be no grief unto him, nor offence of mind, that he had not ſhed blood cauſleſſe, or avenged himſelf*; no more will it be the leaſt occaſion of uncomfortableneſſe or complaint unto Miniſters, who have been faithfull unto God, and brought home ſouls unto him, when *they ſhall ſhine like ſtars in the firmament of* Dan. 12. 3.
Heaven, that ſome of the children of their labours departed from under their hand when time was, to ſeek paſture and ſoul-accommodations elſe-where.

Another objection ſeeming to war with an high hand againſt the *way* hitherto protected, is this: Can that in reaſon be thought to be the *way* of God, which ſeemeth ſo onely in the eyes of a few inconſiderable, and (for the moſt part) illiterate perſons? and not rather that, which triumpheth in the vote and ſuffrage of a Reverend, learned, pious and frequent Aſſembly; yea and further hath the approbation of many wiſe and worthy perſons in full concurrence with it? Do not wiſe men ſee more then thoſe that are weak, and many, then few? I anſwer,

Firſt, that *Solomon returned, and ſaw under the Sun, that the* Eccleſ. 9. 11.

race is not to the ſwift, nor the battell to the ſtrong, neither yet bread to the wiſe, nor yet riches to men of underſtanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but that time and chance happeneth unto them all; meaning, that God ſtill reſerves a liberty to himſelf to interpoſe, and to carry the iſſues and events of things againſt all advantages and likelihoods of ſecond cauſes, when and where and as oft as he pleaſeth. And therefore as King *Aſa* in his cry unto the Lord his God, ſaid, *It is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power*: in like manner it is but of one and the ſame conſideration with God, to bleſſe the world with the Revelation of truth, whether it be by few, or by many, by thoſe that are learned, or thoſe that are look'd upon as men of ſmall underſtanding. Nay,

2 Cor. 14.11.

Secondly, if we conſult with the tenor of Gods providence and diſpenſations in this kind, our information or anſwer will be according to the tenor of our Saviours gratulation (being now in a kind of rapture or exultation of ſpirit) unto his Father: *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes: even ſo Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight.* Though God be at libertie, to make the firſt diſcovery, or communication of the light of his Truth, unto the world, by greater numbers of men, and thoſe learned and in high eſteeme for wiſdome, as by Councels, Synods, and Conventions of men eminent in their qualifications, as well as by one or fewer, and theſe under no great obſervation for either; yet by the more frequent experience of all ages it appeareth, that he taketh pleaſure in this latter way, rather then in the former. Doubtleſſe it was not without ſome very conſiderable ground and reaſon, that that ancient and learned Father **Gregorie Nazianzene* ſhould ſay, that he never ſaw good end, or deſirable ſucceſſe of any Councell; or that they procur'd any decreaſe, but rather increaſe of evils. Yea and adds: that the pertinacious contentions, and inordinate deſires of domineering or bearing rule, were ſuch, as words could not expreſſe. *Him* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *God raiſed up the third day, and ſhewed him openly: not unto all the people, but unto witneſſes choſen before of God, even unto us, who did eat and drink with him after he roſe from the dead.* *Mary* a woman, had both the firſt revelation made

Luk. 10. 21.

*Μηδεμιᾶς συνόδυ τέλος εἶδον χρηςὸν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκυίας ἢ προσθήκην. Αἱ γὰρ φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλαρχίαι καὶ λόγε κρείττονες. Καὶ θᾶττον ἄν τις ἐγκλήσειε κακίαν ἑτέρων διαιτῶν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνων λύσειε; Gr. Naz. Ep. 55. ad Procopium.

Act. 10. 40. 41

made unto her of Chriſts riſing againe from the dead, and alſo the firſt enterview and ſight of him after he was riſen. *Joh.* 20. 12. 14. The Scripture takes ſpeciall notice of *Lots* departure from *Abraham*, before God was pleaſed to make that excellent diſcovery of himſelfe unto him, ſpoken of, *Gen.* 13. 14, 15, &c. Yea, moſt of thoſe revelations of himſelfe, which he was graciouſly pleas'd to impart unto his ancient Church of the *Jewes*, were not imparted unto them by their Synedrion or Great Councell, but by particular men; who likewiſe uſually (if not alwayes) received their inſpirations from God, in their greateſt privacie and ſequeſtration; yea, and that (if the obſervation of the Rabbins will hold in that behalfe) whilſt they were yong. That light of Evangelicall truth, wherein the Reformed Churches reioyce at this day, yea, and triumph over Antichriſtian darkneſs, did not break out of the clouds of Councels and Synods unto them, but God cauſed it to ſhine upon them, from ſcattered and ſingle ſtarres, as *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Martyr*, &c. God never took any pleaſure to cumber his arme with fleſh and bloud, when he meant to doe any great thing for his Church by it. Wee find him once complaining right out, that *the people were too many for him*, to give deliverance or victory by; but we never heard of any complaint from him that they were too few. And why may we not think, but that God may as well ſay within himſelfe, that there are too many learned and wiſe men in a great Councell, for him to reveale truth, or to give victory againſt error by? The reaſon of this kind of diſpenſation is obvious; and therefore I forbeare (for the preſent) to inſiſt upon it.

Judg. 7. 2.

3. As a preſuming confidence of a mans leggs, is a ſigne of ſuch a *time* or *chance* (in *Solomons* phraſe) wherein the *race ſhall not be to the ſwift*; and ſo the challenging a victorie, as it were of courſe, becauſe we have chariots, and horſes, and vaſt multitudes of men, expert in warre above our enemies, is a preſage ſeldome failing, that *the battell* will *not be to the ſtrong*: in like manner when Synods and Councels ſhall beare themſelves inordinately upon their numbers and multitudes, upon their wiſdome, learning, and pietie, and becauſe of theſe, ſhall (upon the matter) challenge an infallibilitie (for what doe they leſſe, when they command all mens judgements and conſciences to bow downe at the feet of their determinations?) this is little leſſe then an authorized ground of Divination, that they will miſcarry, and that God will not ho-

nour them,with the diſcovery of any of his Truth unto the world. A Synod or Councell, though of men never ſo conſcientious and learned, though never ſo both frequent and fervent in faſting and prayer before God, that ſhall aſſemble and meet together upon ſuch terms, I meane ſo as either to expect, but eſpecially peremptorily to conclude, before hand, that all men ſhall make Faith and practiſe of their deciſions, or elſe be cenſur'd, and made to ſuffer
Ezek. 14 3. like evill doers; doe in this *ſet up their idols in their heart, and put the ſtumbling block of their iniquitie before their face*: and conſequently deveſt themſelves of that capacitie, wherein they ſhould be meet to enquire of the Lord. *Should I be enquired of at all by them?* (ſaith God himſelfe *Ezek.* 14. 3. of ſuch) Indeed where greater numbers of men, accompliſhed with grace, and parts of learning, ſhall aſſemble together, with humilitie and meekneſſe, and for ends proportioned to the line and ſphere of men, as *viz.* candidly and unpartially to argue and debate, and ſo to finde out the Truth in things appertaining unto God, onely with an intent and deſire to be *helpers* of the Saints joy, by making rough things plain, and things that were hard, eaſie, and dark things, lightſome, and not
1 Cor. 1. 24. to exerciſe a *dominion over their Faith* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) by an authoritative commanding them out of their preſent judgement, what ever it be, to doe homage to the reſults of their debates, whether they ſee light and truth in them or no; they may expect a ſpeciall preſence of God with them, and the Churches of God about them, may comfortably waite for ſomewhat more
Prov. 24. 6. of the minde of Chriſt from them, then they knew. *In the multitude of* ſuch *Counſellors, there may be ſafetie,* as *Solomon* ſpeaketh. I would gladly beleeve, if I could find where to ſet the ſole of the foot of ſuch a Faith, that Councels and Synods are wont to meet upon ſuch terms: which if they doe not, I am (almoſt) as farre out of hope of having *the joy of* my *Faith* holpen or increaſed by them, as I am of *gathering grapes from thornes, or figgs of thiſtles.* And therefore,

4. (and laſtly) Whereas the objection urgeth, that wiſe men are like to ſee more then thoſe that are weake, and many, then few: I anſwer, That this is not alwayes found true, no not in naturall, civill or artificiall things, wherein notwithſtanding there is uſually a greater regularitie and uniformitie in the actings and workings of ſecond cauſes; much leſſe is it alwayes true in matters be-

longing unto God; wherein himſelfe more frequently interpoſeth by his prerogative, and ordereth the tenor and courſe of occurrences and effects, beſides the proportion of ſecond cauſes, by the good pleaſure of his will. All the great and rare inventions of the world, which either former, or latter ages have brought to light, were not the iſſues or reſults either of the thoughts or ſtudies of the wiſeſt or learnedeſt of men, nor yet of the conſultations or communications of the greateſt numbers or multitudes of men: but the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things, according to his owne good pleaſure and will, caſt this honour upon particular and ſingle men, (for the moſt part) and thoſe not alwayes of the moſt learned or profound, as by many inſtances might readily be evicted, if it were neceſſary. And *Solomon* reports unto us a caſe, wherein one *poore man by his wiſdome delivered a Citie* out of imminent danger; which (it ſeems) all the reſt of the Inhabitants did not ſee or apprehend how to doe. Yea, in Councels themſelves, or greater aſſemblies of men, it is uſually ſeene that ſome one, or few, either of predominant parts, or authoritie amongſt them, ſway and ſteere all the proceedings, and act the judgements and affections of the reſt, though conſcientious and learned to a degree. So that upon the matter, and juſt accompt, the reſolutions of Councels and Synods themſelves, are but the fruits or puttings-forth of the learning, and judgement, of a very few men; and whether theſe be alwayes of the moſt conſcientious, I had rather others ſhould conſider, then I determine. Eccleſ. 9. 15.

The laſt objection deſigned for preſent examination, is this: that the intent and project of this way, is ambitious, high, and dangerous, that it affecteth a Dictatorſhip Eccleſiaſticall, a power of Law-giving, that it undermines Civill or Parliamentary Authoritie, &c. But to this alſo we anſwer (omitting what was formerly ſaid, concerning extravagant height of accuſations and charges, and the ſlender probabilitie of truth in them: as likewiſe concerning the ſpeciall diſpoſition of God in ordering the malice or ill will of thoſe that are enemies, either to his people or wayes, ſtill to ſhoote the arrowes of their accuſations againſt their *breaſt-plate of righteouſneſſe*, where it is ſtrongeſt and leaſt penetrable.)

1. That there is not the leaſt colour, no, nor the leaſt colour of a colour, to charge any ambitious or Dictator-like deſigne upon this *Way*. The reaſon is, becauſe the moſt eſſentiall, intrinſecall,

and fundamentall principles of it, ſtand diametrally bent againſt all dictatoring, and law-giving by men, in the things of God. The Sunne may with as much, or more reaſon be ſuſpected of conſulting darkneſſe againſt the world, as this *Way* of meditating or projecting any Authoritative greatneſſe unto it ſelf in this kinde. Indeed, when it degenerates from it ſelf, and paſſeth into another kind, there may be ſome danger and fear of this *Way*; as there is that Honey ſhould turn into choler, when the native property of it is altered by the ſtomack. A Congregationall man become a Claſſique, may as ſoon as another make a Son of ſuch a deſigne as is ſpecified in the objection.

2. If the *Way* wee ſpeak of, ſhould be ſo contradictory to her ſelf, as to deſire or project ſuch a Kingdome, as ſhe ſtands charged with in the Objection; yet ſhould not the world have the leaſt cauſe to fear her proſecutions or executions in this kinde. If the Lamb in the fold ſhould threaten or project the ſlaughter and deſtruction of all the Lions in the Wilderneſſe, had theſe ever the more cauſe to be afraid of her? The kingdomes and powers of this world, need not fear either the numbers or power of the Saints, for taking away their crowns, or breaking the ſcepters of their rule and government, untill the world that now is be tranſlated into that which is to come. And therefore,

3. Whereas this *Way* is further arreſted by the Objection, for a Pioner and underminer of Magiſtracy, or Parliamentary Authority; I anſwer, that there is no more in this *Way* to undermine or endanger any Civill Authority or Power whatſoever, then there was in *Daniels* heart to prejudice the life and honour of the King, when hee prayed three times a day, (contrary to the Kings commandement) or then was in *Pauls* Doctrine of *Juſtification by Faith* to make voyd the writings of *Moſes*, or the Law; whereby indeed he did *eſtabliſh it* (as himſelf affirmeth, *Rom.* 3. 31.) though the *Jewes* apprehended, and charged him with the contrary. And doubtleſſe the learned Gentleman, who undertakes the *unmasking* of Independency, (which never wore any) is in an utter miſtake, not only of the intentions of the two Brethren of this *Way* (who ever they were) whoſe words he citeth, *p.* 3. of his late *Examination*; but alſo of the rationall and Grammaticall conſtruction and import of the words. For whereas they ſay, *that a man may as well bring a clean thing out of an unclean, as make a ſpirituall ex-*

Dan.6.10.22.

Independency examined, unmask'd, &c.

traction out of a ſecular root, the Gentleman will needs interpret, that they make both Parliament and Aſſembly *ſecular and uncleane*; whereas by the tenor and carriage of the whole paſſage, it is as clear as the Sun, that in neither of theſe expreſſions they reflect either upon the one, or the other; no, nor yet in thoſe following words, wherein they affirm, that *it will be demonſtratively prov'd* (againſt their adverſary, who makes the Law of the State the firſt and moſt conſiderable band or tye upon men, for their ſubmiſſion to his Church-government) *that he reſolves the government of the Churches of Chriſt (in the laſt reſolution of it) into the humors, wills and pleaſures of the world, yea, of the vileſt and moſt unworthy of men.* And therefore, whereas upon his citation of theſe words, his demand is, *Brethren, bona verba quæſo*, the Brethren upon his interpretation of them, have far more reaſon to make this requeſt unto him; Brother, *bonam gloſſam quæſumus*. The words are good, if the interpretation did but anſwer. For doubtleſſe the Brethren in the mentioned period and expreſſions, reflected only upon the generality of the people in the Land, who according to the Lawes of the Land; yea, according to the principles of all reaſon and equity, have the right of nominating perſons into the places of Parliamentary truſt and power; but have no Authority or power from Chriſt to nominate or appoint, who ſhall be the men that ſhall order the affairs of Chriſts Kingdome, or inſtitute the government of his Churches. Theſe, and eſpecially the ignorant and irreligious part of them (which they that know any thing concerning the generality of the Kingdome for matters of Religion, muſt needs know to be far the greater part in every place) are that *ſecular root*, out of which the Brethren conceive an impoſſibility, that *a ſpirituall extraction ſhould be made*, that is, that a legitimate Eccleſiaſtique power ſhould according to the minde of Chriſt, or any precept or preſident of Scripture, be by them conferred upon any man: and this impoſſibility conceived by them, they only illuſtrate and declare by that parallel expreſſion in *Job*, *Who can bring a cleane thing out of an uncleane?* When they imply, that men unworthy, and ſtrangers to the power of godlineſſe and matters of Religion, have the right and power of conferring Parliamentary truſt and power, upon perſons choſen by them hereinto, they reflect not the leaſt touch of prejudice or diſparagement upon the perſons honoured with that choyce: Firſt, becauſe there is no other way, no, nor is there any conveniency or lawfulneſſe of any way whereby to aſcend the height of the intereſt and honour, but ſuch a choyce: And ſecondly, the votes and voyces of ſuch men being carried upon perſons of honour, worth and Religion, demonſtrates that there was ſo much the more of God in their election;

which is ſo far from diminiſhing their honour in the leaſt, that it adds double and treble unto it. But to hold that the perſons ſo elected, as hath been ſaid, have a power by vertue of ſuch nomination or election, to enact Laws and Statutes in matters of Religion, and to order under mulcts and penalties, how men ſhall worſhip and ſerve God; as it is a means to awaken the eye of jealouſie upon them, and ſo is ſeven times more deſtructive unto, and undermining, not only of their power, but of their honour, peace, and ſafety alſo, then any thing that is found in the *Way* ſo ill intreated; ſo is it the ſetling of a power upon the electors of ſuch perſons, I mean, upon the promiſcuous multitude of the Land, a greater power then ever Jeſus Chriſt himſelf had, at leaſt then ever he exerciſed. For as *dare Regem* argues a greater power then *eſſe Regem*, as hee *that buildeth an houſe, hath more honour then the houſe*, *Heb.*3.3. So to nominate and appoint who ſhall have power to umpire in matters of conſcience and of God, to determine what ſhall be preached, and what not, what ſhall be believed, and what not, is a branch of a greater root of power, then the exerciſe of the power that is committed unto others in this behalf. Now though Jeſus Chriſt had a power, and was authorized by God to be a Law-giver himſelf unto his Churches and Saints, in their ſpirituall Republique; yet it is hard to prove that ever he inveſted any other with ſuch a power. His Apoſtles themſelves were *no Lords over the Faith* of the Saints; nor had they any power or authority to impoſe any thing upon men, as neceſſary, either to be believed or practiſed, but what they had in expreſſe commiſſion and charge from Jeſus Chriſt himſelf to impoſe upon ſuch terms. So that notwithſtanding that ſevere & angry conteſtation of the fore-mentioned Gentleman againſt the two Brethren with their fellows, *Is this your ſo much boaſted of preaching, writing, fighting for the rights & priviledges of Parliament?* whereby he thinks to daſh both them and that *their boaſting* together out of countenance; though they boaſt neither little nor much of any thing; boaſting is their charge, not their crime; they only ſay, and that with modeſty yet, bleſſed be God, they are able to maintain and make good that their *boaſting* (if it muſt needs be ſo called) in the ſight of God and Angels, and men, and Devils, and *whatſoever beſides is named, not only in this world, but in that alſo which is to come.* And though he hath done like himſelf, and (I ſpeak it to his honour) far above the line of many others, in vindicating the rights and priviledges of Parliament; yet (*abſit verbo invidia*) I am very confident, that there are thouſands of that *Way* and judgement, againſt which his pen riſeth up with ſo much indignation, who rateably, and according to their means and opportunities, have quitted themſelves upon equall terms of honour, love, and faithfulneſſe, towards thoſe honourable Houſes, with himſelf.

4. (And laſtly) It were no task of much labour or difficulty, to demonſtrate that the *Way*, in the defence whereof we have thus far appeared, is ſo far from carrying any malignity, or ſeed of danger in it to the State, or perſons inveſted with civill power, that it is of a manifeſt and rich compliance both with the one and the other. He that commanded *to give unto Ceſar the things that are Ceſars, and unto God the things that are Gods:* Matth. 22. 21. did *Ceſar* as much (if not more) ſervice, in the latter command, as in the former. Silver and gold, wood and ſtone, never got any thing by having an artificiall deity beſtowed upon them, and being worſhiped, but only a meer proximity to deſtruction. They that ſhould only have ſaid unto *Herod*, that he had ſpoken like a ſober and well adviſed man, might have ſhewed as much affection to him, yea, and honoured him upon better terms, then they that ſhouted, *It's the voyce of a* Act. 12. 22. *God, and not of a man.* There is no foundation ſo ſure and precious to build the honour, peace and ſafety of *Ceſar* upon, as a ſtone duly pitched for a land-mark between God and him. But if there be a queſtion or difficult caſe between God and *Ceſar*, whether ſuch and ſuch things belong unto the one, or unto the other, they will be found the beſt and faithfulleſt Counſellors unto *Ceſar*, who ſhall adviſe him rather to ſurrender unto, then to claim a doubtfull right or priviledge from God. The *Way* we ſpeak of is ſo ingenuous, loyall and true-hearted to men in place of civill authority and power, that it teacheth her ſons to expoſe themſelves unto their diſpleaſure, for the procurement of their good; which even the heathen themſelves have atteſted for one of the beſt and leaſt queſtionable ſigns of true friendſhip and love.

To theſe anſwers of objections, I thought to have added ſome poſitive arguments, whereby the *Way*, now little more then only defended, might have gained the honour of a more perfect conformity to the Will and Word of God, then (perhaps) hath been diſcovered or ſeen hitherto. Yet I cannot but think, that the vailes of the principall objections which covered the face of it, being rent and torn, the beauty and brightneſſe of it muſt needs ſhine forth in the eyes of all thoſe who have not ſacrificed unto partiality.

To cloſe with a word of exhortation. The premiſes conſidered, as we love the things of our peace, and deſire the ſpeedy diſperſion and ſcattering of that dark and black cloud ſtill hanging and hovering over our heads, and threatning more fiery ſtorms & tempeſts of deſolation and blood upon us, and to ſee the heavens cleering up, and looking like Cryſtall or Saphire over us, as we deſire to ſee thoſe terrible ſwarms of

Locuſts and Caterpillars, which now devour and eat up our good land daily, ſwept away and carried by a ſtrong weſt wind into the midſt of the ſea, that ſo we may be fed again, with the ancient heritage of our fathers, I mean plenty, ſafety, and peace; if there be any bowels, any compaſſions in us towards our nation, (ſo far ſpent & waſted with miſery) towards our cities and habitations, towards our friends, towards our ſelves, towards any thing which is dear either to the one, or to the other; let us be exhorted to take heed of *fighting againſt God*; let it be the firſt-born of religious adviſements and cautions to us, not to be fierce, no, nor ſo much as to lift up an hard thought againſt Doctrine or *Way* claiming origination and deſcent from God, till wee have ſecurity upon ſecurity, conditions as cleer as the noon-day, that they are but counterfeits and pretenders only, and ſtand in no relation at all, but that of enmity and oppoſition unto God. Particularly, let us be tender above all tenderneſs, to act to the value of the leaſt hair of our heads in any way of bitterneſs or blood, againſt that *Way* of governing the Churches of Chriſt, which hath by ſo many good hands been preſented unto us as moſt agreeable unto the Word and Will of God, untill we ſee the condemnation of it written with a beam of the Sun, by the finger of God himſelf; untill he hath diſclaimed or renounced it from heaven, either by giving ſuch wiſdome unto men whereby to detect the error and vanity of it, or elſe hath quite raſed it out of the fleſhly tables of the hearts of his Saints, and diſtreſt ſervants. The motion and matter is of a moſt ſerious and formidable importance; therefore let me exhort you yet once more, to *beware of men*, (as our Saviour adviſeth, in a caſe of leſſe conſequence) to take heed, that no man, either through paſſionate exclamations and outcries, or through any faire or flouriſhing pretences whatſoever, draw your foot into this ſnare, ingage you in any ſuch warfare, wherein, for ought you know, you ſhall *fight againſt God.* If your judgements ſtand off from the cauſe wee ſpeak of, for the preſent, and you can ſee nothing of God in it; you may pleaſe to conſider, that this was the caſe of many thouſands amongſt you, in whom there is much of God, and in whoſe heart is Phil.3.15. this *Way*, as a *Way* of his. If they be deceived in imbracing it, God will ſhew mercy unto them in revealing the truth unto them in due time. But if you ſhall be deceived in the violence and fury of your *fighting* againſt it, is it not much to be feared, that you will be intangled Iſa.22.14. with the guilt of ſuch a ſin, which *ſhall not be purged from you till yee die?*

Jun: 6 1645
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FINIS.

Content [illegible]
Courage [illegible]

II

[WILLIAM WALWYN]

THE COMPASSIONATE SAMARITANE

1644

The Compassionate Samaritane first appeared, probably in June or July, 1644. It was published anonymously, without license or imprint. The second edition probably followed immediately upon the first. The first edition, a copy of which is preserved in the library of Yale University, consisted of two parts in addition to the prefatory epistle, viz., *Liberty of Conscience Asserted* and *Good Counsell to all.* The second edition, also published anonymously without license or imprint, omitted *Good Counsell to all*, which reappeared independently and was dated by Thomason July 29, 1644. On the title-page of his copy of the second edition, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, January 5, 1644 [1645]. For evidence on the date of publication and the authorship, see Appendix A. The text is here reproduced from the copy of the second edition in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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73

THE
Compaſſionate
SAMARITANE
Vnbinding

The Conſcience, and powring Oyle into
the wounds which have been made upon
the *Separation*: recommending their fu-
ture welfare to the ſerious thoughts, and
carefull endeavours of all who love the
peace and vnity of Commonwealths men,
or deſire the vnanimous proſecution
of the Common Enemie, or who
follow our Saviours rule, to *doe
unto others, what they would
have others doe unto
them.*

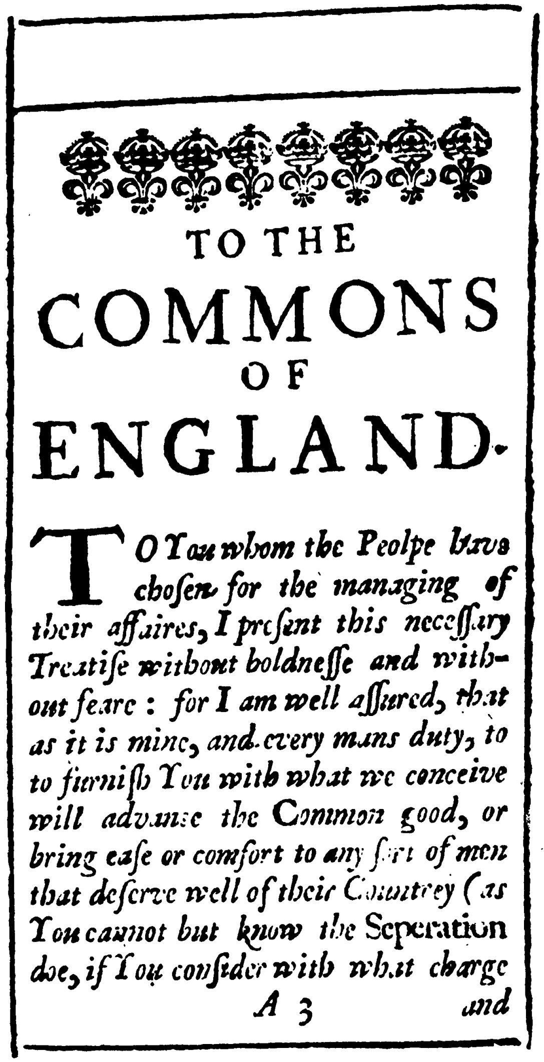
The Second *Edition*, corrected, and much en-
Jan: 5th larged. London
Printed in the Yeare 1644.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

To him that reads.

IF after this, when all the guiles,
That have miſled you, and the wiles
Are manifeſted cleare as day,
So that you muſt ſay, theſe are they:
You yet will be befoold, you may.
Errours have ſome excuſe, when they'r
not knowne,
But being known once, wilfulneſſe
has none.

A 2 TO



TO THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND.

TO You whom the Peolpe have choſen for the managing of their affaires, I preſent this neceſſary Treatiſe without boldneſſe and without feare: for I am well aſſured, that as it is mine, and every mans duty, to furniſh You with what we conceive will advance the Common good, or bring eaſe or comfort to any ſort of men that deſerve well of their Countrey (as You cannot but know the Seperation doe, if You conſider with what charge

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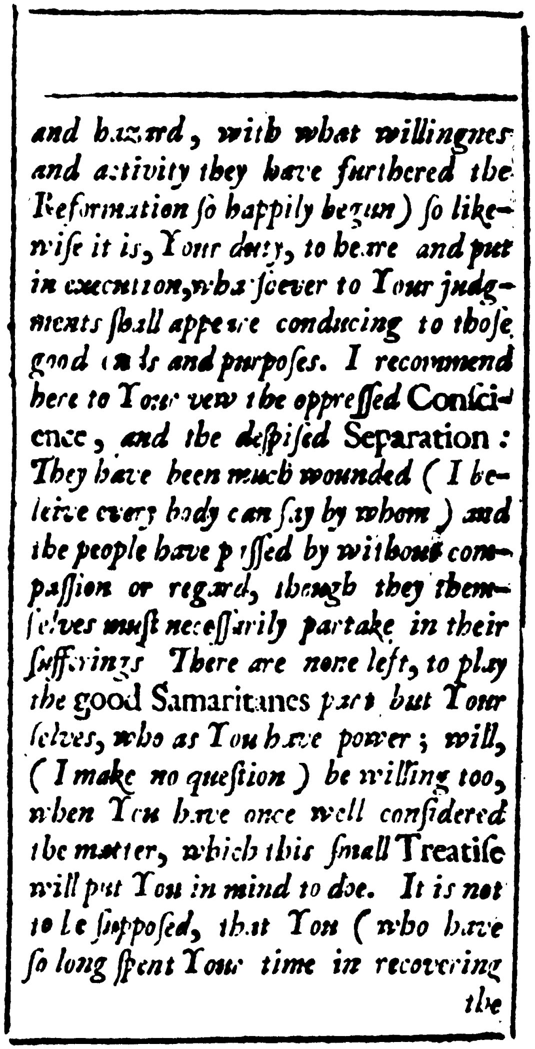

and hazard, with what willingnes and activity they have furthered the Reformation ſo happily begun) ſo likewiſe it is, Your duty, to heare and put in execution, whatſoever to Your judgments ſhall appeare conducing to thoſe good ends and purpoſes. I recommend here to Your view the oppreſſed Conſcience, and the deſpiſed Separation: They have been much wounded (I beleive every body can ſay by whom) and the people have paſſed by without compaſſion or regard, though they themſelves muſt neceſſarily partake in their ſufferings There are none left, to play the good Samaritanes part but Your ſelves, who as You have power; will, (I make no queſtion) be willing too, when You have once well conſidered the matter, which this ſmall Treatiſe will put You in mind to doe. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that You (who have ſo long ſpent Your time in recovering *the* Common Liberties *of* England, *ſhould in Concluſion turne the* Common *into* Particular; *let the inſinuations and ſuggeſtions of ſome in the* Synod, *be what they will, I make no queſtion, but You will ſee both through and beyond them; and will never be ſwayed from a good conſcience to maintaine particular mens Intereſts.*

In the beginning of Your Seſſion, *when our* Divines *(as they would have us call them) wrote freely againſt the* Biſhops, *& the* Biſhops *made complaint to You for redreſſe; ſome of You made anſwer, that there was no remedy, foraſmuch as* the Preſſe was to be open and free for all in time of Parliament: *I ſhall make bold as a* Common *of* England *to lay claime to that* priviledge, *being aſſured that I write nothing ſcandalous, or dangerous to the* State, *(which is juſtly and upon good grounds prohibited by Your* Ordinance *to that effect) only I humbly deſire You to conſider whether more was not got from You by that* Ordinance *then You intended, and that though it was purpoſed by You to reſtrain the venting and diſperſing of the* Kings *writings and his Agents, yet it hath by reaſon of the qualifications of the* Licenſers *wrought a wrong way, and ſtopt the mouthes of good men, who muſt either not write at all, or no more then is ſutable to the judgments and intereſts of the* Licencers. *The* Seperation *(I gueſſe) would have tooke it for better dealing, if the* Divines *had in expreſſe termes obtained of You an* Ordinance *for ſuppreſſion of all* Anabaptiſticall, Browniſticall, *or* Independant *writings; then to have their mouthes ſtopt ſo ſubtlely, ſo inſenſibly, and their* juſt Liberty *in time of* Parliament *taken from them unawares. There can be no greater Argument, that* the Divines intend not well, than their taking uncough, and myſterious, ſubtile wayes to effect their ends; even ſuch as far better become Polititians, then Miniſters.

It is high time O Commons of England, to put an End to the ſufferings of the Seperation, who have for many yeares been the object of all kind of tyranny, Papiſticall, Prelaticall, and Regall: The firſt Foundation of honor, and reſpect was certainly from publike ſervice and protection of the diſtreſſed: Make it Your worke, and aſſure Your ſelves, You will find not only the univerſall love of all good men accompaning You, but a quiet and cheerfull Conſcience, which is above all honour and riches, Others may weary themſelves in plots and contrivances to advance ſelfe-ends and intereſts, to the peoples dammage and moleſtations; ſadneſſe and diſtraction will be their

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companions for it. But make it Your buſineſſe, Ye choſen men of England according to the truſt repoſed in You to protect the Innocent, to judg their cauſe impartially, to circumvent men in their wicked endeavours; and ſo You will become the beloved of God, the beloved of good men.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LIBERTY

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

ASSERTED,

And the Separatiſt vindicated.

HAving heretofore met with an Apologeticall Narration of *Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sydrach Sympſon, Jeremy Burroughs, William Bridge*; I did with gladneſſe of heart undertake the reading thereof, expecting therein to find ſuch generall reaſons for juſtification of themſelves, to the world, as would have juſtified all the Separation, and ſo have removed by one

diſcourſe

diſcourſe thoſe prejudices and miſapprehenſions, which even good men have of that harmeleſſe and well meaning ſort of people: But finding contrary to that expectation that their Apologie therin for themſelves and their Toleration was grounded rather upon a Remonſtrance of the nearneſſe between them and the Presbyterian, being one in Doctrine with them, and very little differing from them in Diſcipline, how they had been tolerated by other Presbyter Churches, and indulgd with greater priviledges, then the Separatiſt, how they differed from the Separatiſt, and had cautiouſly avoyded thoſe roks and ſhelves againſt which the Separatiſt had ſplit themſelves, confirming by theſe words, the peoples diſeſteem of Separatiſts, ſuggeſting by that phraſe of theirs, as if there were amongſt the Separatiſts ſome dangerous by-pathes or opinions, which they warily ſhund, though no mention be made what they are, which is the worſt ſort of calumny.

Finding to my hearts greiſe the Seperatiſt thus left in the lurch, and likely to be expoſed to greater dangers then ever by the endeavours of theſe men, my heart abounded with greiſe, knowing the Innocency of their intentions, and honeſty of their lives, that they are neceſſarily enforced to be of the mind they are, upon long examination of their owne tenents that they deſire nothing more then that they ſhould be publikely and impartially reaſoned, knowing likewiſe their affection to the Common-wealth, their forwardnes of aſſiſtanc in purſe and perſon, knowing their Meetings to be ſo innocent, ſo far from confederacy or counterplots (though they are ve-

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ry ſenſible of the ſad and perplexed condition that they are in) that they have not yet ſo much as ſpoke ought in their owne defence, but truſting to the goodneſſe of God, the equity of the Parliament, the ſimplicity and and integrity of their owne wayes, doe quietly enjoy themſelves and their worſhip, let what will be brewing againſt them, being reſolved like *Heſter* to doe their dutyes, and if in doing thereof they periſh, they periſh: Me thinkes every man is bound in conſcience to ſpeak and doe what he can in the behalfe of ſuch a harmeleſſe people as theſe: what though you are no Separatiſt (as I my ſelfe am none) the love of God appeares moſt in doing good for others: that love which aimes only at it ſelfe; thoſe endeavours which would procure liberty only to them ſelves, can at beſt be called but ſelfe love and ſelfe reſpects: 'Tis common freedome every man ought to aime at, which is every mans peculiar right ſo far as 'tis not prejudiall to the Common: Now becauſe little can be done in their behalfe, unleſſe Liberty of Conſcience be allowed for every man, or ſort of men to worſhip God in that way, and performe Chriſts Ordinances in that manner as ſhall appear to them moſt agreeable to Gods Word, and no man be puniſhed or diſcountenanced by Authority for his Opinion, unleſſe it be dangerous to the State: I have endeavoured in this Diſcourſe to make appeare by the beſt reaſon I have, that every man ought to have Liberty of Conſcience of what Opinion ſoever, with the caution above named: In doing whereof, I have upon occaſion removed all prejudices that the people have concerning

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the Separatiſt, and vindicated them from thoſe falſe aſpertious that are uſually caſt upon them to make them odious ; wherein, my end, I make account, will evidently appeare, to be the peace and vnion of all, and to beget this judgement in the People and Parliament, that 'tis the principall intereſt of the Commonwealth, that Authority ſhould have equall reſpect, and afford protection to all peaceable good men alike, notwithſtanding their difference of opinion, that all men may be encouraged to be alike ſerviceable thereunto; liberty of Conſcience is to be allowed every man for theſe following reaſons.

1. *Reaſon.* Becauſe of what judgment ſoever a man is, he cannot chuſe but be of that judgement, that is ſo evident in it ſelfe, that I ſuppoſe it will be granted by all, whatſoever a mans reaſon doth conclude

to be true or falſe, to be agreeabe or diſagreabe to Gods Word, that ſame to that man is his opinion or judgement,and ſo man is by hisown reaſon neceſſitated to be of ; that mind he is, now where there is a neceſſity there ought to be no puniſhment, for puniſhment is the recompence of voluntary actions, therfore no man ought to be puniſhed for his judgment.

Objection. But it will be Objected , That the Separatiſts are a raſh, heady People, and not ſo much concluded by their Reaſon , as their Fancie , that they have their *Enthuſiaſmes* , and Revelations, which no body knowes what to make off, and that if they were a people that examined things rationally, the Argument would hold good for them.

Anſw.

Anſ. That I ſuppoſe this to be the Argument not of the preſent, but of the looſe witted times before the Parliament,where ſome politike Biſhop, or Dr. Ignorant Univerſity man, or knave Poet would endeavour by ſuch a ſuggeſtion to the people to miſguide their credulous hearts into hatred of thoſe good men, who they knew to be the conſtant enemies to their deluſions: but let all men now have other thoughts, and aſſure themſelves that the Browniſt and Anabaptiſt are rationall examiners of thoſe things they hold for truth, milde diſcourſeres, and abe to give an account of what they they beleive ; they who are unſatisfied in that particular, may, if they pleaſe to viſite their private Congregations which are open to all commers, have further ſatisfaction; perhaps here and there amongſt them may be a man that out of his zeale and earneſtnes for that which he eſteemes truth, may outrune his underſtanding, & ſhew many weakneſſes in his diſcourſe, I would the like frailty and inabilities were not to be found in many of us ; but if the ſlips and wanderings of a few, and thoſe the weakeſt, be an Argument ſufficient to diſcountenance the Separation, and worke them out of the worlds favour, I pray God the ſame Argument may never be made vſe of againſt us ; amongſt whom, many, and they not eſteemed the weakeſt neither, would give great advantages that way : In the mean time I wiſh with all my heart we could all put on the ſpirit of meeknes, and rather endeavour to rectifie by argument and perſwation one anothers infirmities, then upbraid the owners of them with a viſible

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rejoycing that ſuch things are ſlipt from them to their diſadvantage.

One Cuſtome they have amongſt them which doth make even the generality of them able arguers in defence of their way, and that is either an uſe of objecting againſt any thing delivered amongſt them, or propoſing any doubt, whereof any deſires to be reſolved, which is done in a very orderly manner, by which meanes the weakeſt becomes in a ſhort time much improved, and every one able to give an account of their Tenets, (not relying upon their Paſtors, as moſt men in our congregations *doe*) which may ſerve to remove the objection, and put us to conſider, whether the like cuſtome be not wanting amongſt us.

2. *Reaſ.* The uncertainty of knowledg in this life : no man, nor no ſort of men can preſume of an uner-

ring ſpirit: 'Tis knowne that the Fathers, Generall Councells, Nationall Aſſemblies, Synods, and Parliaments in their times have been moſt groſly miſtaken: and though the preſent times be wiſer then the former, being much freed from ſuperſtition, and taking a larger liberty to themſelves of examining all things, yet ſince there remaines a poſſibility of errour, notwithſtanding never ſo great preſumptions of the contrary, one ſort of men are not to compell another, ſince this hazard is run thereby, that he who is in an errour, may be the conſtrainer of him who is in the truth.

Ob. But unity and uniformity in Religion is to be aimed at, and confuſion above all things to be avoyded, by Toleration new Opinions

will every day breake forth, and to the ſcandall of the Nation, we ſhall become a very monſter in matters of Religion, one part being Presbyter, another Anabaptiſt, Browniſt another, and a fourth an Independent, and ſo divers according to the diverſity of opinions that are already, or may be broached hereafter.

Anſ. I anſwer, that in truth this objection appeares ſpecious at the firſt gloſſe, and therfore is very moving upon the people, which the Biſhops well knew, whoſe it was, and taken up as the faireſt pretence for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe, who it is to be feared, will prove the ſuppreſſors. For anſwer whereunto I averre, that a compulſion is of all wayes the moſt unlikely to beget unity of mind, and vniformity in practice, which experience will make evident. For,

The Fines, Impriſonments, Pillories, &c. uſed by the Biſhops as meanes to unite, rather confirmed men in their judgments, and beget the abomination and *odium* which theſe times have caſt upon the Hierarchie, being in the worſt kind tyrannicall, as endeavouring by the puniſhment of the perſon, the bowing and ſubjecting of the Conſcience. And if it be it inſtanced, that ſome there were that turned with the wind, and were terrified by feare of puniſhment into a compliance. I anſwer, that ſuch men are ſo farre from being examples to be followed, that they may more juſtly be condemned for weather-cokes fit (to be ſet up for men to know which way blowes the wind) of favour

delicacy,

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delicacy, eaſe and preferment.

Secondly, The conſcience being ſubject only to reaſon (either that which is indeed, or ſeems to him which hears it to be ſo) can only be convinced or perſwaded thereby, force makes it runne backe, and ſtrugle; it is the nature of every man to be of any judgment rather then his that forces. 'Tis to be preſumed, that tis upon ſome good grounds of reaſon that a man is of that Judgement whereof he is. Wouldeſt thou have him be of thine? ſhew him thy grounds, and let them both worke, and ſee which will get the victory in his underſtanding. Thus poſſibly he may change his mind, and be of one judgment with thee: but if you will uſe Club Law, inſtead of convincing and uniting, you arme men with prejudice againſt you, to conclude that you haue no aſſurance of truth in you, for then you would make uſe of that, and preſume of the efficacy thereof, and not fight with weapons which you (doe or at leaſt ſhould) know not to be the weapons of truth. But I feare there is ſomething more in it: I cannot thinke that the Biſhops in their times vſed ſo many ſtratagems of vexation and cruelty againſt good people, to gaine them to be of their mind, they could not be ignorant that they ſet the Nonconformiſts of all ſorts thereby at an irreconcilable hatred againſt them. No, there end rather was this, They had conſulted who were oppoſite to their deſignes, and finding the Puritane and Sectary ſo to be, their intereſt was by all poſſible meanes to ſuppreſſe them, that ſo they might without oppoſition trample upon the people. And therefore in theſe times men ſhould conſider what they doe. For if they who have the publique countenance doe beare themſelves after the ſame manner towards the Anabaptiſts and Browniſts, or whatſoever other ſect there is, or may be, that cannot comply with them in judgement or practice (as by their beginnings we feare they will) what can we judge of them but that their ends and intentions are the ſame with the Biſhops? For by their fruits (ſaith our Saviour) ye ſhall know them: we may be deceived by words their turnings and contextures are ſo infinite, that they may be framed ſo, as to make the worſt ſeeme good. The actions of men are the beſt rules for others to judge them by. Now upon view of the actions of the Divines that are now in favour, men doe ſpeake very ſtrangly, ſome ſay the tyrannie over conſcience that was exerciſed by the Biſhops, is like to be continued by the Presbiters: that the oppreſſours are only changed, but the oppreſſion not likly to be removed. Others ſay, that the Anabaptiſt and Browniſt are like to find harder maſters, for that the Biſhops made the puniſhment of them a matter of ſport and profit to themſelves, and reſerved their puniſhments to be diverſions of the peoples mindes from taking too much notice of their intrenchments upon the lawes and common liberty, ſuffering their ſocieties notwithſtanding to remaine, though ſo low and dejected that they were paſt feare of them. But the Presbiters, as it is conceived, will be more violent, as ſlaves uſually are when they become maſters: and thus talke not onely the Anabaptiſt and Browniſt

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and Antinomian (being cheifly in danger) but other the moſt moderate and ingenious men, that are not ſwayed by the Divines intereſt.

They ſay too, that as it is not juſt, ſo neither is it politike, that in the beginnings and firſt riſe, when the Divines are but laying the foundation of their greatneſſe, wealth, and ſway over the peoples conſciences, and twiſting their intereſt inſenſibly with the Parliaments, that in the infancy of their tyrannie they ſhould carry themſelves ſo high and preſumptuous as they doe over other men, ſhewes that their wiſdome here comes ſomewhat ſhort of the Serpents, or elſe that they are ſo impatient at the not compliance of other men, that they break, out even againſt their owne intereſt. Nay ſome ſay further, that they did well indeed in being ſo zealous againſt the Biſhops, thoſe Drones and Caterpillers of the Commonwealth, in making deſervedly odious to the people their oppreſſive Courts, Fines, Cenſures, and Impriſonments. But they begin to fear that ſome bad ends of their owne were aimed at herein, and not ſo much the liberty of the people, as that they might get up into the Chaire and become to them inſtead of a Lord Biſhop, a ruling Presbytery, which they feare will bring in more rigidneſſe and auſterity, no leſſe ambition and domination then the former.

And the reaſon they have to feare, is, becauſe our Divines have not dealt clearely with us in many particulars, but continue certaine intereſts of the Biſhops, which they find advantagious to advance their honour & eſteeme with the people and have

have entered already into many of their ſteps, which in them at firſt they did ſeem ſo much to abominate. That the intereſt only of the Biſhop in particular, and of that ſort of Prelates is exploded; but the generall intereſts of the Clergie, whereby another Prelacy may be erected, and the myſtery of the Divines maintained in credit amongſt the people, is ſtill with all art and induſtry preſerved. I will take the paines both to tell you what thoſe generall intereſts are, and what in reaſon may be ſaid againſt them.

I. Their firſt intereſt is to preſerve amongſt the people the diſtinction concerning Government of Eccleſiaſticall and Civill, though upon conſideration it will be found that two Governments in one Common-wealth hath ever been, and will ever prove inconſiſtent with the peoples ſafety : The end of Government being to promote virtue, reſtraine vice, and to maintaine to each particular his owne, one ſort of Government which we call the Civill, either is ſufficient, or by the wiſedome of the Parliament may be made ſufficient for theſe ends. At the beginning of this Parliament it was confeſſed, that it was both too burdenſome for the Divines, and too hazardous for the State, that they ſhould bee truſted with any thing of Government, their preaching and inſtructing the people being, if well diſcharged, ſufficient to take up the whole man. But the times change, and the men with them; the deſigne is feaſible, and it muſt now againe be thought neceſſary that the Divines ſhould have a ſtroake in the Government, and therefore

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that diſtinction is againe maintained, which being taken up at firſt by proud Church-men for ambitious ends, is ſtill continued for ends though not in every thing the ſame, yet differing (I feare me) rather in the degrees than nature of them, we cannot tell what elſe to thinke of it, but that finding our Divines aiming at authority and juriſdiction, have judged it moſt politicke to gaine a preheminence, (leſſe ſtately and pompous, but) altogether as imperious and awfull over men as the former, which becauſe it is not ſo gariſh outwardly as the Biſhops, they may preſume will therefore be the eaſier admitted, and prove of longer continuance.

II. The ſecond intereſt of the Divine, is to preſerve amongſt the people the diſtinction of Clergie and Laity, though not now in thoſe termes, becauſe they have been unhappily

happily diſcovered. The Scriptures ſo evidently makeing the people Gods Clergy by way of diſtinction from the Miniſters, 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. but never the Miniſters by way of diſtinction from the people. And then for Laity, a people (as the word ſignifies) I hope the Miniſters are ſuch as well as any others. Well, the diſtinction by words is not ſo materiall, as a reall diſtinction with their intereſt is to preſerve. They would not have us to thinke that a Miniſter comes to be ſo, as an other man comes to be a Merchant, Bookeſeller, Taylor, &c. either by diſpoſall of him by his friends in his education, or by his owne making choyce to be of ſuch a Trade: no, there muſt be ſomething ſpirituall in the buſineſſe, a *Iure Divino* muſt be brought in, and a ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, and even as ſome would have us thinke Kings to be annoynted of God, becauſe the Iſraelitiſh Kings were by his command, ſo we are made to beleive, that becauſe the Apoſtles were ordained by God to be Teachers of the people, and endued with guifts for that end; that therefore there is a like divine, though ſecret ordination from God in making of our Miniſters, and ſpirituall guifts & qualifications thereunto: Becauſe otherwiſe, if the people did not beleive ſo, they would examine all that was ſaid, and not take things upon truſt from the Miniſters, as if whatſoever they ſpake, God ſpake in them: they would then try all things, and what they found to be truth, they would embrace as from God, for God is the Authour of truth; what they found to be otherwiſe, they would reject, and then for the moſt part they might ſpare their notings and repetions too, unleſſe the more to diſcover the groundleſneſſe of the doctrine, and the giddineſſe of the Divinity which they generally heare. They would then handle their Miniſters familiarly, as they doe one an other, ſhaking off that timorouſneſſe and awe which they have of the Divines, with which they are ignorantly brought up. He that bade us try all things, and hold faſt that which was good, did ſuppoſe that men have faculties and abilities wherewithall to try all things, or elſe the counſell had beene given in vaine. And therefore however the Miniſter may by reaſon of his continuall exerciſe in preaching, and diſcourſing, by his daily ſtudy, and reading, by his skill in Arts and Languages, by the conceit of the eſteeme he hath with a great part

part of admiring people (in whom is truly fulfilled the prophecie of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim*. 4. 3. 4.) preſume it eaſie to poſſeſſe us, that they are more divine then other men (as they ſtyle themſelves) yet if the people would but take boldnes to themſelves and not diſtruſt their owne underſtandings, they would ſoon find that uſe and experience is the only difference, and that all neceſſary knowledge is eaſie to be had, and by themſelves acquirable: and that it is the Miniſters intereſt, their living depending thereupon, to frame long methods and bodies of Divinity, full of doubts and diſputes, which indeed are made of purpoſe difficult to attaine unto, that their hearers may be alwyes learning, and never come to the knowledg of the truth, begetting diſquiet and unſetledneſſe of mind, continuall controverſies, ſadneſſe, and many times deſperation: All which makes for them, for that upon all occaſionsmen have recourſe to them for comfort and ſatisfaction, which how weake and ſhort ſoever it be in it ſelfe, muſt be currant, becauſe from them: the Keyes of the Church(a prerogative which our Saviour gave to his Apoſtles,) they arrogate to themſelves, a new Authority they make mention of in their Sermons, which they call Miniſterial (though no ſuch thing belongs to them, nor is yet ſeded upon them, nor I hope ever will be) thus their intereſt is to make of themſelves a peculiar Tribe, of a nearer relation to God then other men: His more immediate Servants the Labourers in his Vineyard, the Co-workers with him,and all other titles they claime, given in Scripture to the Apoſtles, though

though neither for their abilities, much leſſe for their vertues or converſations, or in any other reſpect can be due unto them.

III. The third intereſt is to perſwade the people,that the Scriptures though we have them in our owne tongue,are not yet to be underſtood by us without their helpe and interpretation,ſo that in effect we are in theſame condition with thoſe wehave ſo long pitied,that are forbidto have the Scripturs in theirown tongue:for 'tis all one not to have them in our own tongue,and to be made beleive, that we cannot underſtand them though we have them in our owne. Is the Cabinet open to us, and doe we yet want a Key? has ſo much labour been ſpent? ſo many Tranſlations extant, and are we yet to ſecke? Let us argue a little with them: either the Scriptures are not rightly Tranſlated, or they are: If they are not, why have wee not beene told ſo all this while? why have wee beene cheated into errours? If they are rightly Tranſlated, why ſhould not Engliſhmen underſtand them? The Idiomes and properties of the Hebrew, and Greeke Languages, which ſome ſay, cannot word for word be expreſt in Engliſh, might all this while have beene Tranſlated into as many Engliſh words as will carry the ſence thereof. There is nothing in the Hebrew or Greeke but may be expreſt in Engliſh, though not juſt in ſo many words (which is not materiall) ſo that it muſt be confeſt, that either we have not beene fairly dealt withall hitherto in the conveyance of the Scripture,

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(a thing which few dare ſuſpect) or elſe the Scriptures are as well to be underſtood by us, as by any Linguiſt whatſoever.

Well, notwithſtanding all this how evident ſoever it be, a great part of us, people doe beleeve juſt as they would have vs, and therefore ſilly men (as we are) in caſe of doubt to them we goe to be reſolved: and hereby is maintained the neceſſity and excellency of learning, and the Languages, and ſo of Univerſities, and a ſuppoſall that the arts likewiſe are of neceſſity to a Divine: ſeven yeares at leaſt are allotted for the attaining thereof, to fit and diſpoſe men for the ſtudy of Divinity, the Arts being, as they ſay, handmaids and preparations to Theologie. But I heare wiſe men ſuſpect all this, and ſay, that the Divines of what ſort ſoever, have other ends in urging all theſe things to be of neceſſity.

Firſt, they have hereby made it a difficult thing to be a Miniſter, and ſo have engroſſed the trade to them ſelves, and left al other men by reaſon of their other profeſſions in an incapacity of being ſuch in their ſenſe.

And therefore, Secondly, if any doe take upon them their profeſſion without Univerſity breeding and skill in the Arts and Languages (how knowing a man ſo ever he be otherwiſe) they have faſtened ſuch an *odium* in the hearts of moſt of the people againſt him, that a theif or murderer cannot be more out of their favour then he. Thirdly, they being furniſhed with theſe Arts and Languages, have a mighty advantage over all ſuch as have them not, & are admirers therof, (as moſt men are) ſo that hereby they become maſters of

of all diſcourſes, and can preſently ſtop the peoples mouthes, that put them too hard to it, by telling them that it is not for Lay-men to be too confident, being no ſchollers, & ignorant of the Originall; That the Originall hath it otherwiſe then our Tranſlations: And thus they keep al in a myſtery, that they only may bee the Oracles to diſpence what, & how they pleaſe: ſo that this third intereſt is of much concernment to them.

I know what the ſcruple of moſt men wilbe, in reading of this laſt particular: almoſt all wilbe the Divines Advocate for Learning, & have him in great hate & deriſion, that is an enemy thereto. For as *Diana* was, ſo is Learning thoſe *Crafts-mens* living & the peoples goddeſſe. However, I will make no Apologie for my ſelfe, but deſire, that every man would give his reaſon ſcope, boldly to examine, what it is, what good the World receives from it, whether the moſt learned, or unlearned men have been the troublers of the World. How preſumptious and confident the learned Scribes, Prieſts, and Doctors of the Law were, that they beſt underſtood the Scriptures: How the poore and unlearned Fiſhermen and Tent-makers were made choyce of for Chriſts Diſciples and Apoſtles, before any of them: How in proceſſe of time they that tooke upon them to be Miniſters, when they had acquired to themſelves the myſterie of Arts and Learning, & confounded thereby the cleare ſtreames of the Scripture, and perverted the true Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and by politicke Gloſſes, and Comments introduced an other Goſpell ſutable to the covetous, ambitious, and

perſecuting ſpirit of the Clergie (which their eſteeme with the people made authentick) they then began to ſcorne the ſimplicity and meaneſſe of the Apoſtles, to call that the Infancy of the Church, and to engroſſe great Livings, Lordſhips, Territories and Dominions; to embroyle States in warres, to ſupplant one an other and divert the people from the proſecution of their owne intereſt, (which is their ſafety and liber tie) to maintaine their quarrells, and erect that Governement the then riſing part of them could agree upon. So that the Preiſts and Miniſters of Chriſtendome (though others have the name) yet they are indeed the Lords and leaders thereof, as at preſent by Englands ſad experience may evidently appeare: For I would have all wiſe men conſider, whether the party who are now in armes to make us ſlaves, conſiſts not cheifly of ſuch as have had eſteeme for the moſt learned Arts men in the Kingdome; or of others, (who if not learned themſelves) are admirers of ſuch as are. Yea, to examine whence moſt of the warres of Chriſtendome have ſprung, and whether theſe artificall Clergie men have not been the cheife cauſers and ſtill are the grand Incendiaries of of our preſent miſeries which threaten our utter ruine, and although the Epiſcopall Clergie pretend to ſtrive for the Regall Prerogative on the one ſide, and the Presbiterian Prelacy for Reformation, and the Liberty of the Subiect on the other ſide; yet both of theſe mainly intend their owne reſpective profits, and advancements; ſo that which ſide ſoever prevaile (if ſuch may have

have their wills (both aiming at their own greatneſſe and Dominion over the conſciences of their Brethren) extreameſt miſerie, and baſeſt kind of ſlavery will unavoydably follow; whilſt each of them by all ſlye inſinuations and cunning contrivances ſeeke to obtaine authority to compell the whole Nation to be ſubject to their doubtfull, yea groundleſſe determinations, which of all other is the greateſt and worſt ſort of oppreſſion and tyranny. The people may, if they pleaſe, dote upon that which ever hath been, and will be their deſtruction: It would be more ſafe for them (I am ſure) to diſtinguiſh of Knowledge, and to reject what is uſeleſſe (as moſt of that which hath hitherto borne the name of learning, will upon impartiall examination prove to be) and eſteeme that only which is evidently uſefull to the people; to account better of them that having no by-ends or reſpects, have ſtudied the the Scriptures for their owne and others information, and doe impart the ſame to the people out of a deſire of their good, for nothing, (as the Anabaptiſts doe to their Congregations) than of ſuch men as uſe all meanes to augment their tythes and profits, who being rich and abundantly provided for, yet exact them from poore people, even ſuch whoſe very bellies can hardly ſpare it; whoſe neceſſities ought to be releeved by them, and not the fruite of their labours ſo unreaſonably wreſted from them, as oft it is, and the ſame ſo ſuperfluouſly ſpent, or ſo covetouſly hoarded up, as for the moſt part is knowne to be. When they commend Learning, it is not for Learnings ſake, but their owne; her

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eſteeme gets them their Livings and preferments; and therefore ſhe is to be kept up, or their Trade will goe downe. *Have a care therefore O yee Clergie, as you eſteem your honour and preferment, your profit and obſervance, that you keep this Diana of yours high in the peoples eſteem: Rouze up your ſelves, and imagine ſome new wayes to quicken the admiration of this your Goddeſſe; for I can aſſure you, mens eyes begin to open, they find that ſhe is not ſo beautifull as ſhe once ſeemed to be; that her luſtre is not naturall, but painted and artificiall: Beſtirre your ſelves, or your Diana will downe.* But why ſhould I excite you, who I know are too induſtrious in the preſervation of your owne intereſts.

Divers other intereſts they have plied, as to make themſelves the only publike ſpeakers, by which meanes whome, and what they pleaſe they openly condemne, cry up, or cry downe, what makes for or againſt themſelves: There they brand men with the name of Hereticks, and faſten what errours they thinke are moſt hatefull to the people, upon thoſe men they purpoſe to make odious: There they confute all opinions, and boldly they may doe it, for as much as no liberty of reply or vindication in publike is allowed to any, though never ſo much ſcandalized by them. And that men may not vindicate themſelves by writing, their next intereſt is to be Maſters of the Preſſe, of which they are lately become by an Ordinance for licenſing of Bookes, which being intended by the Parliament for a good & neceſſary end (namely) the prohibition of all Bookes dangerous or ſcandalous to the State, is become by

meanes of the Licencers (who are Divines and intend their owne intereſt) moſt ſerviceable to themſelves (ſcandalous Books being ſtill diſperſt) in the ſtopping of honeſt mens writings, that nothing may come to the Worlds view but what they pleaſe, unleſſe men will runne the hazard of impriſonment, (as I now doe) ſo that in publike they may ſpeake what they will, write what they wil, they may abuſe whom they will, and nothing can be ſaid againſt them: well may they preſume of making themſelves Maſters of the people having theſe foundations laid, and the people generally willing to beleive they are good. I might proceed, to ſhew what uſage wiſe men expect from their Government, being once eſtabliſht how rigid and auſtere ſome thinke they will prove, countenancing no recreations but what themſelves

ſelves are addicted to: how covetous others deem them, obſerving that they have more regard to the Benefice then the people, and doe uſually change and ſhift upon proffer of a better Parſonage. Some ſay that they are a people ſicke of the Phariſes diſeaſe, they love to ſit upermoſt at feaſts,& to be reverenced in publike places, that their reſpects towards men are as they are rich and beneficiall to them, and that a pore man can hardly obtaine a viſite, though at the time when the world conceives there is greateſt neceſſity of it: that they hover about dying men for their Fee, and hope of Legacy, & many other things are commonly talked of them, which becauſe I ſuſpect to be true I will ſet myſelf hereafter more narrowly to obſerve.

The Objection wereupon all this (I hope) neceſſary digreſſion

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is built, was that men may be compelled (though againſt conſcience) to what the Synod or preſent Miniſtery ſhall conclude to be good, and agreeable to Gods Word, becauſe unity and uniformity in the Church is to be endeavoured. To which I further

Anſ. Anſwer, That to force men againſt their mind and judgment, to beleive what other men conclude to be true, would prove ſuch tyranny as the wicked *Procruſtes* (mentioned by *Plutarch*) practiſed, who would fit all men to one Bed, by ſtretching them out that were too ſhort, and by cutting them ſhorter that were too long. If we beleive as the Synod would have us, what is this but to be brought into their miſerable condition that muſt beleive as the Church beleives, and ſo become, (as ſaid an honeſt man, not the Diſciples of Chriſt, but of the Synod?

3. *Reaſ.* The third Reaſon for Liberty of Conſcience is grounded upon theſe foundations, that whatſoever is not of faith is ſin, and that every man ought to be fully perſwaded of the trueneſſe of that way wherein he ſerveth the Lord: upon which grounds I thus argue, To compell me againſt my conſcience, is to compell me againſt what I beleive to be true, and ſo againſt my faith; now whatſoever is not of faith is ſin; To compell me therefore againſt my conſcience, is to compell me to doe that which is ſinfull: for though the thing may be in it ſelfe good, yet if it doe not appeare to be be ſo to my conſcience, the practice thereof in me is ſinfull, which therefore I ought not to be compelled unto.

Againe I am counſelled by the A-

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Poſtle to be perſwaded in my owne mind of the truth of that way wherein I ſerve the Lord; I am not therefore to be compelled to worſhip God in ſuch a way, of the juſtneſſe whereof I am not yet perſwaded, much leſſe in ſuch a way as is againſt my mind.

Ob. Nothing is more dangerous to a State, eſpeacially in theſe times, than diviſion and diſturbance by ſeverall wayes of Brethren which have encreaſed our miſeries, and therefore to avoyde diviſion they who will not of their own accords comply, are for the quiet of the ſtate to be compelled and puniſhed.

Anſ. I Anſwer, that it is verily thought that the harſhneſſe only of this propoſition hinders that it is not yet put in execution, till time & cunning have fitted it for the people;

for we are told in the laſt conſideration tending to diſwade from further gathering of Churches, that ſuffering is like to be the portion of ſuch as ſhall judge the right rule not to be delivered to them. A man would thinke that thoſe people that ſo lately were the ſufferers, the noyſe of whoſe exclamations againſt ſuch courſes, is ſcarce yet out of the peoples eares, that they ſhould not ſo ſoone thinke of being the Tyrants. But to the Objection I anſwer, that the diverſity of mens judgments is not the occaſion of diviſion, becauſe the word diviſion hath reference to a falling off from the Common cauſe. Now, though the provocations and incitements, againſt the Browniſts, and Anabaptiſts and ſome of the Independents have beene many, yet their affections to the Publike

weale are ſo hearty in them, and grounded upon ſuch ſound principles of reaſon, that no aſſay of the Synod can make them ceaſe to love and aſſiſt their Countrey; and it is more then evident by the proſperity of our neighbours in Holland, that the ſeverall wayes of our brethren in matters of Religion hinder not, but that they may live peaceably one amongſt an other, and the Spaniard will witneſſe for them that they unite ſufficiently in the defence of their common liberties and oppoſition of their common enemies: Beſids, its very materiall to conſider, that it hath ever been the practice of thoſe that are countenanced by Authority to endeavor the ſuppreſſion of thoſe that are not: who is therefore in the fault? the quiet Separatiſt, who being perſwaded in his conſcience of the truth of that way he deſires to ſerve the Lord in, peeceably goes on to do his duty as he thinkes himſelfe bound to doe, or they who out of a lordly diſpoſition care not what injury they doe to others, though to the hazard of the Common-wealth, to advance themſelves and their government, they defame the Separation in their writings and Sermons, bid their poſelites beware of them, as of a dangerous and factious people, ſtoppe their mouthes, keep the Preſſe from them, provoake them by all wayes poſſible, and then like the crafty Politian cry out upon them as the cauſers of diviſion.

I heare ſome men ſay, that it concernes the Miniſter ſo to doe, becauſe his living (depending upon his tythes and guifts) is the greater, the more rich and numerous his audience is; and therefore the Separatiſts

are not to be ſuffered, who they find by experience draw many people after them, and though not the devout honourable women, nor the cheife men of the City, yet many whoſe number might much encreaſe the yearly revennue of the Miniſter, and therefore you muſt thinke it has concerned them to meet together, and to ſay amongſt themſelves,

Sirs, you know that by this our craft we have our wealth: moreover ye ſe & hear, that not alone at London, but in moſt parts of the Kingdom theſe Separatiſts have perſwaded & turned away much people, ſaying that our Miniſtry is no true Miniſtry, our Church, no true Church, our Doctrine in many things erronious, that our ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles is but a pretended thing, & as we our ſelves do derive it deſcended for many 100. yeares through the deteſtable Papacy &

miſh Miniſtry, ſo that if theſe men be ſuffered our gaine, and the magnificence of the Miniſtery, which not England only, but all Chriſtendome doth highly magnifie and reverence, would quickly downe:

For what other reaſon then this can be imagined, why the Separation ſhould bee the eye-ſore of our Miniſters? It cannot be inſtanced in one particular whereby the Common-wealth receives prejudice from them: And then for the charge of Separating, for their maknig a Sciſme, which is endeavoured, to be caſt ſo heavily upon them:

I anſwer, That by reaſon of the Church of Romes corruptions, the Church of England did long ſince make a Sciſme from the Church of Rome, for which

which cauſe likewiſe many of the preſent Miniſters in lieve of the Antichriſtian domineering Biſhops thought it no robbery to make ſciſme from England; and even this Idolizing Synod, which though not yet upon her Throne, ſticks not to let her clients ſee *ſhe ſayes in her heart; Behold I ſit a queen, I am no widdow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow*, *Rev.* 18.7. May not I ſay this, Reverend Synod: if to be proceeded againſt by ſuch carnall ſandy principles, ſuch humane ordinances, by which the Separatiſts ſtand prejudiced, be legally found, to have made the greateſt and moſt tranſcendent ſciſme which England ever knew or heard of, ſince the Papiſtrie was diſcarded; If then the Separation have gon a little further, and not only with the Biſhops ſeparated from Rome, with the Miniſters from the

Biſhops, but by reaſon of ſome corruptions ſtill remaining among the Miniſters; are by their conſciences neceſſitated to ſeparate from them likewiſe: In all theſe ſeparations there was difference in judgment; the Biſhops differ in ſome things from Rome, our Miniſters from the Biſhops, and amongſt themſelves too, which differecnes by the Scriptures they cannot determine, as appeareth both by their writings and preachings, wherein with much vehemency they urge the ſame againſt other; of little force then will the major vote of a Synod be for the determining thereof, having ſo lately moſt notoriouſly diſcovered themſelves to be men-pleaſers and temporiſers, by crying downe the things which but yeſterday they ſo highly magnified in their Pulpits, and alſo practiſed with much devotion (at leaſt ſeemingly) and having withall their owne intereſts ſo much concerned therein (as is before in part declared.) And further, knowing that the ſame perſons themſelves, and their Tenets, (as well as the opinions of Independents, Browniſts, and Anababtiſts, whom they oppoſe) doe ſtand condemned not by the major vote of divers Synods only, but by many generall Counſells alſo, (who are accounted to repreſent the whole Church upon Earth) no whit inferiour to them either in Arts or Learning, or any other qualification: Let it be then no wonder, nor ſo much as ſeem blameable hereafter, that the Separatiſts ſhould differ in ſome Opinions from this preſent Synod, ſince the Miniſters therein no little differ amongſt themſelves, much more than yet appeares, and will do ſo, while Sun and Moon endures untill we have courage and ſtrength enough to abandon all private intereſts and advantages.

All times have produced men of ſeverall wayes, and I beleive no man thinkes there will be an agreement of judgement as longe as this World laſts: If ever there be, in all probability it muſt proceed from the power and efficacie of Truth, not from conſtraint.

Objection. An Aſſembly of Divines, men that have imployed all their time in the ſtudy of Religion, are more likely to find out the truth, then other men, that have not ſo ſpent their time; who being now conſulting, what Doctrines, and what

what Diſcipline is moſt agreeable to the Word of God, it is but meet that all men ſhould waite their leaſure, till it be manifeſt what they ſhall produce.

Anſw. To this objection I ſay firſt, That they being now in conſultation, not for themſelves, but as they ſay, for the whole people; it is but reaſonable that they ſhould publiſh to the world whatſoever is in debate amongſt them, and invite every man to give them their beſt light and information, that ſo they may heare all voyces, and not conclude ought againſt mens judgments before it be heard what they can ſay for themſelves: This might peradventure be a meanes to find out all truth, and ſettle things ſo as that every man might be ſatisfied. You will ſay, that they conſider of all ob-

objections amongſt themſelves. I reply, that is not ſufficient, for 'tis a knowne caſe men are generally partiall to themſelves and their owne judgments, urging the weakeſt objections, and that but ſlightly: and it can give no ſatisfaction to men to have their cauſes pleaded by their Adverſaries.

Secondly, how palpable ſoever it appeare, that an Aſſembly of Divines are more likely to find out truth then other men; yet it is to be conſidered, that it will puzzle any man to inſtance when they did ſo. Beſides, grant it be more probable, yet it may be otherwiſe, and 'tis well knowne hath proved ſo. The Liturgie was by univerſall conſent approved, and by the Parliaments Authority authoriſed, particular men being for theſe many yeares averſe

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to it, and ſeparating from the publike Congregations becauſe of it: it now appeares who were in the right. How confident ſoever therefore the Divines (as they ſtyle them ſelves) are that they ſhall find out the right rule; yet ſince it may be, and hitherto hath been otherwiſe, it is but meet that they ſhould decree only for themſelves and ſuch as are of their owne mind, and allow Chriſtian Liberty to all their Brethren to follow that way which ſhall ſeem to them moſt agreable to truth.

Ob. But we are told in the Divines Conſiderations that all men muſt wait, otherwiſe the Parliament are like to be provoaked.

Anſw. J marry Sir, this is a good ſtrongue Argument, and ſpeakes home to us: I cannot blame the

Separatiſts now for crying out, they feare your Club more then your Reaſon. I ſee what they might expect, if the ſword and authority were in your hand, your nine Conſiderations informes me, wherin are theſe two ſuppoſitions. Firſt, *that the right rule may not be delivered us*: And ſecondly, *that then men may be called to ſuffer*. It is a wonder to obſerve the wrethed condition of man, and his foule ingratitude: Is it ſo long ſince the yoakes were breaken off theſe mens necks, that they forget the burthen & injuſtice of them, or that aſſiſtance they had from their ſeparatiſt Brethren in breaking thoſe yoakes, that now ſo ſoone as they are got into reputation, they ſhould ſuppoſe a time of ſuffering for their brethren for doing what to them appeares to be their duty! *Regard O God, ſince man is become thus for-*

forgetfull, take thy diſtreſſed Servants, the Separatiſts into thine owne protection: Thou O Lord, that art the Judge of all the Earth, put into the hearts of the Parliament to doe right in this cauſe, and to ſuffer thoſe afflicted people no longer to endure reproach or moleſtation for doing of their duties.

Ob. But ſome may ſay, I beat the Aire all this while, there is no purpoſe in the Divines to force the conſcience, they are ſufficiently informed that, the conſcience cannot be forced, being in no wiſe ſubject to compulſion, only it concernes them they ſay to prevent the grouth and encreaſe of errours, which cannot otherwiſe be done but by puniſhing thoſe that are the authors and maintainers of them, that ſo truth only may flouriſh, and the Goſpell with the Ordinances according to the true inſtitution of them, be maintained and practiſed by all the people of the Nation.

Anſw. I anſwer, that though it were certaine that what they eſteeme truth were ſo indeed, and that the true Goſpell and Ordinances were in every part and circumſtance of them that which they iudge them to be; however, though they are earneſtly to endeavour by argument and perſwation to reduce all men to the ſame beleife and practice with themſelves, yet thoſe that cannot be thereunto perſwaded, they ought not by any meanes to puniſh, for the firſt and third Reaſons afore given. But then for the aſſurance of the Divines that their concluſions and Articles are certainly true, if it be built upon certaine foundations, they need not avoyde the combate with any

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ſort of men of what opinion ſoever: Truth was not uſed to feare, or to ſeeke ſhifts or ſtratagems for its advancement! I ſhould rather thinke that they who are aſſured of her ſhould deſire that all mens mouthes ſhould be open, that ſo errour may diſcover its foulnes, and trueth become more glorious by a victorious conqueſt after a fight in open field; they ſhunne the battell that doubt their ſtrenght. Wiſe men are at a ſtand to ſee that whileſt the Preſſe was open no man undertooke the Anabaptiſts, and that now their adverſaries have bound their hands they begin to buffet them; what can they doe elſe but neceſſarily ſuſpect that our Divines have not the truth, nor by any evidence thereof are able to make good their owne ſtandings or practices. To ſtop mens mouths or pu-

puniſh men for ſpeaking their mindes, was profitable indeed, and neceſſarie for the Biſhopes who had propoſed to themſelves ſuch endes as could endure no diſcourſe upon them, and framed ſuch conſtitutions, ceremonies and doctrines, as muſt be received without ſcanning, or elſe would appeare empty and groundleſſe. But that the reforming Clergy, that pretend to have truth in its ſimplicity, and the Goſpell in its purity, and ſeeme to abominate all by-endes or reſpects, ſhould yet take the ſame courſe of prohibitions with the Biſhops, locke up the Preſſe, and then vent themſelves in a furious and (evidently) ſcandalizing way, as in their late preachings and Pamphlets againſt the Anabaptiſts, will make, I beleeve, all wiſe men ſuſpect that either they doubt their

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owne tenets, or know ſome groſſe errours amongſt themſelves, which yet their intereſts and profeſſions engage them to maintaine. To ſay they doe not about to compell the conſcience, which is uncapable of compulſion, but will only puniſh the perſon, is as if they were ſportfull in their cruelty, and ſhewes as if it proceeded from men ſetled, and long practiſed in tyranny, I could wiſh for Chriſtianity ſake they had more wiſedome then to play with mens afflictions: I profeſſe unto you, did I ſtill dote upon the perſons and ſeeming holyneſſe of our Miniſters (as I have done) ſuch carriage as this I thinke would open mine eyes, and make me ſee they are not the men they ſeeme to be, that in ſo ſhort a time can grow ſo wanton with their owne eſtate and preheminence, as to gibe and ſcoffe at their brethrens miſeries. Is it not a ſhame to our profeſſion, and ſcandall to our cauſe, that well affected men, reall, and irreconcileable enemies to tyranny, and our common Adverſaries, ſhould be neceſſitatd to leave their native Country, becauſe they can hope nothing from you, our Divines, but to be impriſoned or puniſhed for exerciſing their conſciences, though by their helpe you ſhould be ſetled in your liberties, I cannot tell what elſe to make of this for my part, but that *you had rather be ſlaves to the King, and hazard the freedome of the whole Nation, then that theſe men ſhould have freedome with you*; yee may flatter your ſelves, that yee are rich in ſpirituall graces, and preſume that you are in the right, and have found out the truth of the Goſpell and Ordieances, but ſo long as yee want the maine evidences thereof, *Love and lowlineſſe of mind*,

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ſo long as yee propoſe dominion and the ſway over your Brethren, which our Saviour ſaid his followers ſhould not doe, *Matth.* 20. 25. 26. *Marke* 10. 42. you muſt give men that are unwilling to be deceived leave to thinke that yee have yet but the forme and ſhew of Religion, but want the inward ſweetneſſe and moſt excellent fruites and effects thereof; I could wiſh I had no occaſion for ſpeaking thus much, but when ſores bigin to feſter, they muſt not be nouriſhed and ſwathed, but lanc'd and corraciv'd, 'tis no time to hide and excuſe mens imperfections, when they ſtrive to take roote for perpetuity. Were it in mine own cauſe, I could not ſpeak ſo much, but in behalfe of ſuch a harmeleſſe people as I have found thoſe of the Separation to be, after much inquiry and examination of their Tenets, and practice, I thinke my ſelfe bound in conſcience to breke ſilence and become their advocate.

Ob. There is one Objection more againſt the Anabaptiſts in particular, and that is, that they allow not of Civill government and therefore not to be tolerated becauſe they hold an opinion directly deſtructive to the Common-wealth.

Anſ. Who ſaies they hold this opinion? why the Divines commonly in their Pulpits, and what ground have they for their ſo ſaying? They find it in bookes that they who have written of them affirme that they maintaine this opinion. But how if the ſocieties of Anabaptiſts in this Kinghome are moſt Zealous and rationall defenders of our Government? as to my knowledge they are, and that

experience can teſtifie for them, that noe men have more forwardly and conſtantly then they aſſiſted the Parliament againſt thoſe that would diſolve our free governement, and bring in tyranny; how is it true then that the Anabaptiſts hold ſuch an opinion? O then they tell us that our Anabaptiſts are no Anabaptiſts: To what purpoſe then doe they exclaime againſt Anabaptiſts that have been of that opinion? (as they ſay) (though for my part I beleeve neither them, nor the books that tells them ſo) when they cannot but know, if they know any thing, that the Anabaptiſts which now are, be not of that opinion; why for this end and purpoſe, they reſolve to make the Anabaptiſts odious to the people, and nothing they thinke will ſooner doe it, then by making the people beleeve that they are the harbourers of ſuch an opinion as would diſſolve all ſocietie, and bring into confuſion the ſtate.

Now this they ſpeake of the Anabaptiſts in generall, knowing that the people will apply it to the Anabaptiſts in England, concerning whom how true it is, you may judge by that which followes.

The Anabaptiſts opinion concerning Government is, that the world being growne ſo vitious, and corrupt as it is, there can poſſibly be no living for honeſt men without Government: That the end of making Government, is the Peoples quiet and ſafety, and that whatſoever doth not conduce thereto is tyranny or oppreſſion & not go-

vernment, That the Government of England is of all others that they know the moſt excellent, the people by their choſen men, being the makers & reformers therof: That therein the Parliament is the ſupreme power, and that the King is accountable to them for the not performance of his Office, as all other Officers of the Common-wealth are: That the Parliament only are the makers and alterers of Lawes for the regulation and ordering of the people: That of right they are to be called by thoſe Lawes they have made in that behalfe, and to diſſolve when they themſelves ſee good: that it is not at the Kings wil or pleaſure to ſigne or refuſe thoſe Bills the Parliament ſhall paſſe, but that he is of duty to ſigne them: That all great Officers and Majeſtrates of the Kingdome are to be choſen by them:

That the King is to have his perſonall abode neer the Parliament, that they may have free conference with him at pleaſure touching the former diſcharge of his Office, or the preſent ſtate of the Common-wealth: That to Parliaments alone belong the diſpoſall of Shipping, Forts, Magazines, and all other the Kingdomes ſtrengths, both by Sea & Land: The making of peace & war, the preſſing of ſouldiers, the raiſing of monie for the preſerving or regaining the ſafety or freedome of the people, which for any other perſon to doe, is treaſonable. Theſe grounds & principles of our government they knowing, could not but ſee the exorbitances of the King, & whereto al his lawles courſes & deſignes tended, & therefore have not ignorantly (as perhaps others) but upon theſe grounds aſſiſted the Parliament, and will doe till the laſt.

Judge

Judge by this then whether theſe men hold an opinion againſt government, or at what wretchleſſe paſſe thoſe men are that would make the people beleive they doe.

I might inſiſt here upon a Booke called *The Confutation of Anabaptiſts* lately ſet forth, which ſaies, *They are abſolute and profeſſed enemies to the eſſentiall Being of Civill Government*, but I find people ſo little regard the Booke, it being ſo full of non-ſence, and in this particular ſo evidently contrary to truth, and the experience of every man, that lookes abroad, and knowes any thing of the Anabaptiſts; that it will be but loſſe of time to take notice of it, only it were worth obſervation to ſee how eaſily it obtained an *Imprimatur*, and how open the Preſſe is to any thi

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true or falſe,ſence or non-ſence,that tends to the Anabaptiſts ſcandall or diſgrace.

In the beginning of the Parliament a Booke was publiſhed, called the Hiſtory of the Anabaptiſts in High and Low Germany, the aime whereof was by faſtning odious errours and feigned mutenies upon the Anabaptiſts to deter this preſent Parliament in their Reformation of Biſhops, for feare, as the booke ſaies, leaſt they who now cry out for Chriſts rule, ſtrike not ſo much at the miſrule of Epiſcopacy, as quarrell at all rules, ſo that what courſe was taken by the Biſhops and their freinds to hinder the Reformation of that Hierarchie, namely, the affrighting the Reformers by airy and imaginary conſequences,the

ſame are uſed by our Divines to prevent a through Reformation: of many errours, and miſtakes in our Clergie, which they exceedingly feare,and therefore they have, and doe continue early and late to render the Anabaptiſts as odious to the people as their wits and inventions can make them. But as the Biſhops then failed of their ends by the wiſedome of the Parliament; ſo I truſt the preſent endeavoures of our Divines in ſtriving to raiſe themſelves upon their Brethrens diſgrace and ruine, will by the continued courage and prudence of the Parliament prove vaine and fruitleſſe.

They who eccho the Kings words and take the Biſhops courſe (I will not ſay have the Kings ends but) ſo farre doe the Kings worke.

The King, I confeſſe, has reaſon to cry out upon the Aabaptiſts, becauſe he knowes them to be enemies not of Government, but oppreſſion in Government, and all thoſe who intend to oppreſſe in any manner, ought, if they will be true to themſelves to doe ſo. too; for the Anabaptiſts are oppreſſions enemies, whoever be the oppreſſours.

And whereas they ſay, they find in Bookes, that the Anabaptiſts are enemies to all Government, it were well if they would conſider who wrote thoſe Bookes: it may be they were written either by miſtake, or for the ſame end ahat they repeate them. We can ſhew you books too, that ſay the Parliament are Browniſts & Anabaptiſts; And paſt all queſtion, if the King ſhould thrive in this unnaturall warre, this Parl.

ſhould

ſhould in their Court Hiſtories, not only be called Anabaptiſts, but branded alſo to all poſterity with that opinion falſly and maliciouſly fathered upon the Anabaptiſts, That they were enemies to Government, and went about to bring all into confuſion. little credite therefore is to given to Bookes in matter of obloquie and ſcandall: but the men, and their judgments in the times they live, are to be conſidered: And then I am confident it will appeare, that the Anabaptiſts be of wellaffected mindes: and peaceable diſpoſitions, meriting a faire reſpect from the State, and may well challenge amongſt others, the quiet enjoyment of themſelves as they are men, and the ordinances of Chriſt as they are Chriſtians.

I will adde one thing more to the

Browniſts and Anabaptiſts glory; that in the times of the Biſhops domineering, when many of the Preſbyterians complyed, ſome to the very top of *Wrens* Conformity, and preached for thoſe things they now pretend cheifly to reforme, and the Independants fled to places where they might live at eaſe, and enjoy their hundred pounds a yeare, without danger; the Browniſt and Anabaptiſt endured the heate and brunt of perſecution, and notwithſtanding the ſeverall wayes of vexing them, continued doing their duties, counting it the glory of a Chriſtian to endure tribulation for the name of Chriſt: And the times altering the Presbyterian ſoon comes about, and the Independant comes over, to be Leaders in the Reformation, when forgetting the conſtancie and integrity of thoſe who bore the heat
and

and burden of the day, they hold the ſame heavy hand over them, that their fathers the Biſhops did. And as the Browniſts & Anabaptiſts affection to the common good of all, was then firme, & able to endure the triall of perſecution, ſo hath it in theſe preſent ſearching times continued conſtant & unſhaken, notwithſtanding the many almoſt unſufferable Injuries & provocations of the Divines on the one ſide, & the faire promiſes & frequent invitations of the King on the other; ſo that had any ends of their owne beene aimed at, they could not have continued ſuch reſolved & immoveable enemies of Tyranny, & freinds to their country: I beleeve if we would ſuppoſe other men to be in their Condition, we could hardly expect the like even & upright carriage from them, amidſt ſo many ſtormes and
temp-

temptations ſurrounding them. I hope all good men will take all that hath been ſaid into conſideration, eſpecially the Parliament who I preſume are moſt ingenuous and impartiall of all others. and whom it cheifly concernes, they being called and truſted to vindicate and preſerve the peoples liberties in generall, and not to enthrall the Conſciences, Perſons, or Eſtates of any of them unto a pregmaticall pretended Clergy, whether Epiſcopall, Presbiteriall, or any other whatſoever, The greateſt glory of authority is to protect the diſtreſſed; and for thoſe that are Iudges in other mens cauſes to beare themſelves as if the afflicted mens caſes were their owne; obſerving that divine rule of our Saviour, *Whatſoever yee would that men ſhould doe vnto you, even ſo doe yee to them* And if to the Parl. it ſhall appeare for the reaſons given or other better

reaſons

they can ſuggeſt to themſelves, that it is moſt unjuſt, and much more unchriſtian, that any man ſhou'd be compelled againſt his conſcience to a way he approves not of, I doubt not but they willbe pleaſed for Gods glory, and union ſake and likewiſe for theſe good mens ſake, which for the preſent it principally concernes, at leaſt for their owne ſakes (for who knowes how ſoone this may be his owne caſe) ſpeedily to ſtop all proceedings that tends thereunto: and for the future provide, that as well particular or private Congregations, as publike, may have publike protection, ſo that upon a penalty no injury or offence be offered either to them from others, or by them to others. That all Statutes againſt the Separatiſts be reviewed, and repealed, eſpecially that of the 35. of *Eliz.* That the Preſſe may be free for any man, that writes nothing ſcandalous or dangerous to the State. That ſo this Parliament may prove themſelves loving Fathers to all ſorts of good men, bearing equall reſpect to all, according to the truſt repoſed in them, and ſo inviting an equall affection and aſſiſtance from all: that afrer Ages may report of them, they did all theſe things, not becauſe of the importunity of the people, or to pleaſe a party, but from the reaſon and juſtneſſe of them, which did more ſway with them, than a Petition ſubſcribed with Twenty thouſand hands could have done.

FINIS.

[HENRY ROBINSON]

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

1644

Liberty of Conscience appeared in 1644, published anonymously, without license or imprint. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, March 24. For the charge that Robinson set up his own printing press, and for evidence of Robinson's authorship, see Volume I, pages 64 ff. The text has been here reproduced from a copy in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, collated with two additional copies in the Union Seminary and with a photostatic print of the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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LIBERTY
OF 8
CONSCIENCE:
OR THE

a Nonne hoc arroganter dictum

a Sole means to obtaine *Peace* and *Truth*.

b Nonne hoc mire propheticum vel potius aperte falsum.

b Not onely reconciling His *MAJESTY*
with His Subjects, but all Chriſtian States
and Princes to one another, with the freeſt
paſſage for the GOSPEL.

Very ſeaſonable and neceſſary in theſe diſtracted times, when moſt men are weary of
War, and cannot finde the way to Peace.

Henry Robinson

Will. Beckly Printed in the Yeare 1643.

To every Chriſtian Reader that ſeeks Truth as well as Peace.

Beloved in Chriſt Jeſus:

LEt not the ſeeming noveltie of opinions deter thee from ſearching out the Truth, and be aſſured that Gods people, as well as worldlings have their times to fiſh in troubled waters; wherefore before thou proceed on with this Diſcourſe, promiſe me, I beſeech thee, to read it out; and if thou then repent thee of thy paines, let me but know ſo much, and I ſhall willingly take upon me a double penance for thy ſatisfaction and amends.

I am not ignorant that the lawfulneſſe of newtrality is much controverted both in policie and conſcience, but men of moderation which endeavour to qualifie or decline the precipice of extreams, ought not to be accounted newtralls or luke-warme: Such then (as I preſume) will no more be of opinion, that all on the Kings ſide are Papiſts or Popiſhly affected, then that all on the Parliaments are Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, or thereunto inclined; nor all that are at *Oxford* enemies of God and godly men, or all at *London* to take up Arms only for good of either; but that there are on both ſides great numbers, though not equall, which wiſh ſincerely and mean well, notwithſtanding there may have been many weakneſſes, infirmities & errours expreſſed by them; for, the preſence and influence of both the Armies I conceive but much alike conducing to make the people really good or bad, though they muſt outwardly comply with both, ſo long as they are neare them, and have any thing to loſe, and do not yet perceive, but that ſuch Members of the Lords and Commons Houſe, are much the ſame, notwithſtanding their paſſing to and fro between *London* and *Oxford.*

But the *London* Pamphlets querie, whether Papiſts are likely to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion? And *Aulicus* ſeeming no leſſe ſcrupulous, askes whether Browniſts or Anabaptiſts will? But if a third ſhould reſolve them both, and ſay, that the Proteſtant Religion hath not been in *England* theſe eighty years, he might run the hazard to be thought a libeller, and yet it may chance be found ſo, if we examine what it is, whence it came, whether it be not confined amongſt the Lutherans, and how much we differ from it, though we ſtill retain the name: But what matters it, whether we be called Proteſtants or otherwiſe? or is truth and propriety the worſe, becauſe we endeavour, or attaine them by the helpe of Papiſts and of Browniſts? or may not Papiſts and Browniſts as lawfully ſerve their King and Countrey, as thoſe thundering legions of Primitive Chriſtians did the Heathen Emperours? The King ſaies he took up defenſive Arms; and both Houſes of Parliament averre that they did ſo: The Parliament party fear that if the King prevail, though his Majeſty himſelfe be not Popiſhly affected, the Biſhops would be eſtabliſhed, and by their juriſdiction, ſuppreſſe all ſuch as did not conforme both to their diſcipline and doctrine: On the other ſide, the Kings party is in as great a fear, that if the Parliaments ſide ſhould get the upper hand, though they do not eſtabliſh Browniſme or Anabaptiſme, yet they would ſettle a Presbytery, which may as much abridge them the Liberty of Conſcience, as they themſelves have been abridged under Epiſcopacie heretofore; in which reſpect, each party for the preſent, pretends to grant ſuch a liberty as ſhall be ſutable and complying with tender conſciences, but neither dare yeeld unto, or truſt the other: In ſuch a caſe as this, is there no remedy? Hath God left us quite deſtitute of meanes to ſtop ſo great a gap to prevent the totall ruine and deſolation of three Nations, not without the greateſt ſcandall and offence which ever befell the Reformed Proteſtant Religion? The feare is equall and extream on both ſides, though either of them is like enough to ſay, the others fear is but imaginary, yet both of them, ſince they ſay ſo, and cannot be diſproved, are to be treated and proceeded with, alike: To this the King addes, and ſaies, that beſides ſundry demonſtrations of His grace and favour, I have granted *a perpetuall Parliament*, and if ever that ſhould have an end, they have ſtill *a trienniall Parliament to perpetuity*, which of themſelves only tranſcend all the grants that ever my Predeceſſours made unto their Subjects: and notwithſtanding all this, they attempt my life, and take away my Revenues, Royalty, and Religion too, if it were poſſible: On the contrary, the two Houſes of Parliament in their ſeverall Remonſtrances have informed his Majeſty, how through predominancie of evill counſellours the Subjects liberties have had ſeverall great breaches made upon them, innovations of Doctrine and Diſcipline in their Religion, and they are really and totally poſſeſſed, that by the ſame, and ſuch like evill counſellours which are likely to ſucceed, their whole priviledges and propriety will be forced from them, and the profeſſion of the true Proteſtant Religion utterly aboliſhed; aſſuring his Majeſty notwithſtanding, that if he will be pleaſed to returne unto his great Councell, cauſe delinquents to be brought to triall, and ſettle the *Militia* of the Kingdome in ſuch perſons as both Houſes may confide in, there ſhall be no failing on their parts to make him *a glorious Prince, beloved at home, feared abroad*, and *enlarge his Revenues beyond all his Predeceſſours*; but not finding how to qualifie the diffidence which each hath of the other, both ſides have ſtrengthned themſelves, brought ſeverall Armies into the field, fought ſome pitcht battells, and had ſo many skirmiſhes and encounters, as, beſides the firing of whole Townes, deflouring of Virgins, committing rapes, rapines, and a thouſand other villanies, hath been the death perhaps of above a hundred thouſand ſoules in *England* only, then which, what could poſſibly befall more offenſive unto God, or damageable to the State? Surely both parties ſhould be deſirous of compoſing ſuch a difference, which in ſo high a nature and degree, is totally deſtructive unto both? But alas! the jealouſies are ſuch, that neither dare well offer, or entertain a Treaty, leſt the other ſhould make advantage of it; & yet a King cannot be ſaid to deal too great a meaſure of love unto his people, nor ſubjects to out-doe their duty unto their King; nor the ſword be ſaid or thought properly or juſtly to have a capacity and power of ſettling true Religion; or Chriſtians of all ranks and conditions whatſoever, more glorifie the King

ut a populo plusquã vel aeque ac Deus

of Kings, then in renouncing all earthly intereſts and advantages, rather then his great Name ſhould be evill ſpoken of, or the bloud of his deareſt Saints to be ſpilt upon the ground, and yet we cannot poſſibly imagine, without the greateſt ſcandall of our owne charity, and offence unto the weaker brethren, but that ſome of them have already dyed on either ſide, God of his infinite mercy direct them both, that neither of them come ſhort or be found guilty in either.

Another of the *London* queries is, Whether if Religion, and the State be in imminent danger of an *Oxford* party, both Houſes of Parliament, and ſo great a portion as adheres unto them, may not defend themſelves by Armes? and ſince *Aulicus* ſeems to be as much afraid that both Religion, Laws, and Priviledges of Parliament are equally endangered by the *London* Apprentices, and thoſe that went to *Weſtminſter*, ſome will thinke it beſt to anſwer both in one, and ſay, neceſſity hath no law, it is above all law, and though there be neither Act of Parliament, Ordinance of both Houſes, or ſo much as a bare order of either, neceſſity will notwithſtanding ſufficiently warrant & inſtruct the people, as certainly and lawfully, though not ſo readily, to defend themſelves from ruine and deſtruction; grant then that the danger be imminent, the neceſſity is implied therein, and all the reſt will follow: This is a truth, though ſuch a one as muſt be juſtly ballanced, and tenderly made uſe of; it is no doctrine of libertiniſme, though libertines ſhould abuſe it, and for a curbe to ſuch as would flie out on either ſide: If all fortifications throughout the Kingdome were once demoliſhed, it would be to little purpoſe for a King to require more of the Subjects then the Laws permit, and they had willingneſſe to performe; or for the repreſentatives to engage the Kingdome farther then they that choſe them, ſhall unanimouſly approve thereof: And ſince the ſtrength and power is naturally in the people, as God doubtleſſe allowes thereof, that they might have a poſſibility to ſhelter themſelves againſt the extremities of tyranny in what government ſoever; ſo will none truly conſcientious, eaſily take occaſion hereby to deny ſubjection to the Powers: It is not ſufficient to *ſay* there is imminent danger and neceſſity, both God and man muſt *ſee* it is ſo, and unleſſe we be both wiſe & conſcientious in the mangage of it, ſtanders by and others, the Saints of all neighbouring States and Nations will judge otherwiſe thereof hereafter, what ever we our ſelves declare therein at preſent: what would the King or Parliament gaine thereby, if either of them did prevaile by ſword? in ſuch caſe the conquered party muſt be ſtill kept under by a martiall law and power, which would ſo long continue grievous to them both, untill the whole Kingdome be weary of it, and joyntly agree to caſt the yoke from off them; ſo that unleſſe the conditions be free, juſt and equall in apprehenſion of them both, Prerogative continued unto the King, Priviledges to both Houſes of Parliament, and Liberties unto the Subject, we cannot expect a during peace, much leſſe a Reformation of what is amiſſe either in Civill or Eccleſiaſticall affaires, nor Gods bleſſing upon any of them.

necess

not suff

Having thus heard what is alledged, and tryed and prepared our conſciences on both ſides let us thinke upon a Treaty, and rather then be without it, the wars may ſtill be proſecuted, as if there were no Treaty : And becauſe it may ſeem that the King and Parliament doe not confide in one another, I wiſh with all meekneſſe and ſubmiſſion that they may both conſider whether it is not neceſſary that ſome ſuch middle way be thought on, as neither of them remaine at the meer power and mercy of the other, and yet it would not be good to divide the Kingdom again into a Heptarchie, or more, or fewer portions, but if it ſhould be thought fitting towards the compaſſing a ſpeedier disbanding of the Souldiers and demoliſhing all Inland works, whereby the Countrey is not only plundered of what they have at preſent, but abſolutely diſcouraged to till the ground, and nouriſh cattell, leſt both ſtocke and fruit be taken from them afterwards; that in this interim only, each of them may have a rationall ſecurity and ſafeguard againſt the others attempt, whileſt the bloud which hath been ſo long boyling, be growne cold againe, and every one of us better fitted and diſpoſed to imbrace each other more cordially, that in ſuch caſe, and for ſuch purpoſe only, certaine garriſons for a ſhort time may ſtill remaine in ſome of the Sea-Ports as both King and Parliament ſhall approve of.

For more facilitating of ſo good a worke, give me leave to premiſe theſe 1
few things : 1. That the King being but one, cannot poſſibly overmatch the
Subjects, unleſſe they will themſelves, and therefore the Houſes of Parliament
may with leſſe danger treat him more like a King. 2. The King being ſole diſ- 2
poſer of his owne, may better reſolve to forgoe the preſent enjoyment of ſome
ſmall part thereof a while, when He ſhall finde that God will trie Him, in cal-
ling for it to purchaſe His owne peace, and three Kingdomes welfare, which
both Houſes cannot comply in, unleſſe the major part be willing. 3. Though 3
the generall good of all his Subjects ought rather to overſway a King, then all
his owne intereſts in the Kingdome, yet ſince it is more harſh to Royall fleſh
and bloud (borne to rule and governe others) to renounce their owne juſt
rights, much more to deliver up unto the adverſe party, all ſuch as have adhered
to Him; ſo may the Parliament expreſſe much Nobleneſſe and Wiſdome in be-
ing tender of preſſing Him with ſo great a tryall. 4. That though either ſide 4
conceive the Propoſitions which ſhall be made unequall, and little hopes of
bettering them for the preſent; yet I preſume the difference will not be ſo great,
but both of them may expect ſecurity therein at time of need; and in caſe either
ſide ſhould take advantage, and break out again, *a good cauſe and conſcience with a
leſſe Army, may more hopefully expect aſſiſtance from God to overcome a greater.* 5. If
Armes being laid downe on both ſides, the King through importunity of evill
counſellours ſhould refuſe to paſſe any other Acts for redreſſe of ſundry grie- arts
vances which the Subjects yet lye under, both Houſes have the ſame liberty to
withold their conſent in ſuch other Acts as were for the Kings advantage, and
I humbly propound whether it may not appeare upon enquiry, that (concer-
ning civill intereſts) the Subjects, for the preſent, ſtand in leſſe need of new
Acts to be paſſed in their favour then the King does of Subſidies, His Majeſty
being no little indebted, His charge ſo much encreaſed, and His revenue leſſe-
ned. 6. If evill Counſellers or Courtiers ſhould returne againe to innovate

either in Church or State, they cannot have the boldneſſe or power to worke ſuch miſchiefe, but a trieniall Parliament will eaſily be able to make them weary of it. And laſtly, That it cannot be for the good of King and People, that the three eſtates in Parliament, though Armes were quite laid downe, ſhould ſtand ſeverely upon the priviledge of their negative reſpective voyces, but neceſſarily muſt comply with one another to make their mutuall happineſſe compleat.

And becauſe I am verily perſwaded that one great reaſon which moved God to permit theſe Kingdomes to be thus divided, and engaged in a civill War, was the generall obſtinacie and averſeneſſe of moſt men of all ranks and qualities in each Nation, to tollerate, and beare with tender conſciences, and different opinions of their brethren, unleſſe they were thereunto ſo far neceſſitated, that without it, there muſt inevitably enſue on both ſides a totall ruine and deſtruction, which is full neare, the preſent wofull condition that all three, ſo lately flouriſhing Kingdomes, are now plunged into, God of his great mercy vouchſafe effectually to ſhew them their deliverance: in this reſpect, as alſo in that I cannot thinke, that God hath ſuffered ſo much bloudſhed, either to eſtabliſh the Kings Prerogative, or the Priviledge of Parliament only, but that He hath yet a far greater worke of his own to bring about, I humbly conceive that Liberty of Conſcience may deſervedly require to be firſt treated on, what, and how far forth it may and ought to be permitted; which being throughly debated, and agreed on by both ſides as the firſt Article, to be forthwith ratified by the three eſtates in Parliament, all the reſt will doubtleſſe follow more willingly and ſweetly.

If a man will raile againſt the high Commiſſion Court, or in a ſeditious manner revile Epiſcopacie or Presbytery, he ſhall not want multitudes to countenance and cry him up, but ſuch as in a Chriſtian way, goe about with meekneſſe to diſcover, and deſire the ſpring head may be reformed, the unwarrantable power of both witheld, from whence the ſpirituall wickedneſſes ariſe, and without which, though we ſhould chance be eaſed a while by change, upon the aboliſhing of Prelacie, yet the milde and gentle *interregnum,* would prove ſo much more cruell to us afterwards, when a ſucceeding government, having the ſelfe ſame corrupting principles with Epiſcopacie, and knowing its own ſtrength, ſhall, *contrary to Pauls doctrine,* 2 *Cor.*1.24. *aſſume againe the dominion of our conſciences*, after we had taſted the ſweetneſſe of Chriſtian liberty, and flattered our ſelves with the continuance of it; ſuch I ſay, may run the hazard to be accounted preſumptuous, turbulent, or innovaters, ſo dim ſighted are moſt men in the *myſtery of godlineſſe,* and ſo inclinable to be tranſported with carnall wiſdome and ſecurity: It is not the imperiouſneſſe of *Epiſcopacie, Presbytery,* or a *Claſſi*, in what degree of compariſon ſoever they ſhall ranke themſelves, which can ſcourge men into a ſpirituall Temple fit for the Holy Ghoſt to dwell in, no meanes ſo much conducing thereunto as a fatherly reproving, a brotherly admoniſhing, and a moſt patheticall beſeeching one another, like that of St. *Paul* the aged, *Philem.*9. in the bowels and tendereſt compaſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, which how ſeldome it hath been practiſed by either of them in reſpect of what they ought, and how little fruit we ſee thereof, I deſire no wayes to aggravate, but mention only, (God is my record) not ſo much for their ſorrow, as amendment, having juſt cauſe to pray that I may finde repentance for my ſhare thereof, which is not with the leaſt.

Let both the *Oxford* and *London* party conſider duly, whether to be perſecuted be not a ſigne of the true Church, ſince *Paul* ſaies, 2 *Tim.*3.12. *All that will live godly muſt ſuffer perſecution*, and conſequently though we had not one word more in all the Bible to this purpoſe, whether that government be not likelieſt to be ſuch as Chriſt intended to rule his people by, whom he calls his *Sheep* his *Lambes*, *Joh.*21.15,16. no creatures of prey, which moſt reſpects, and bears with tender conſciences? and ſince all governments may degenerate into tyranny, though for the preſent, all things were ſettled according to either of their deſires, whether notwithſtanding they ought not to wiſh, and even in meer policie endeavour that there might be a tolleration of weake conſciences, leſt through the viciſſitude and wheeling about of time, their owne conſciences might come againe to be oppreſſed hereafter: for *Salomon* ſaies, *Ec.*1.9. *There is no new thing under the ſun, and the thing which hath been, is that which ſhall be done againe hereafter:* and the generall applauſe and confidence which Epiſcopacie had ſo lately of its owne ſtrength in this Kingdome, ſhould be a warning for all other governments not to ſubject themſelves through preſumption of their power and party unto the like downfall and deſtruction: and ſuch as have either felt or underſtood the ſpirituall bondage which this Kingdome hath twice ſuffered in time of Popery and Prelacie by reaſon of their coercive juriſdiction, unleſſe they be both earneſt with God and man, that the ſame be not given unto any other government, will bring upon their owne ſoules, the miſcarriage of all ſuch as periſh through the tyranny which it will infallibly fall into and exerciſe hereafter; it was not their Popery or Prelacie (that was to themſelves) which ſo much oppreſſed us, as their power, otherwiſe, the perſons of ſuch which ſtill remained in the ſame Popiſh and Prelaticall opinions, ought to have been rather proceeded againſt, and not that power to be arraigned and condemned both of ſpirituall and corporall rape and murder in Prelacie, which was ſo ſoone after to be again enthroned in Presbytery: I humbly querie what it might be that moved both Houſes of Parliament to vote and prepare a Bill againſt Epiſcopacie, or that prevailed with the Eſtates of *Scotland* to declare it Antichriſtian; if it were only an abuſing of ſuch power as was given to the Church, and might poſſibly have been well imployed, then may a Reformation or puniſhing of ſuch Biſhops as abuſed it, redreſſe our grievances, and the government ſtill remaine eſtabliſhed; but if it were the great *Diana*, *Act.*19.24, 28. that ſtrumpet and Idol which is common to them all, that plenepotentiary juriſdiction to adminiſter or paſſe ſentence againſt their brethren in perſon or eſtate, by vertue of a coercive diſcipline and dominion, how can it ſafely be given unto any other government, ſince that *both Popular and Ariſtocraticall with all others, are as infallibly, though not equally ſubject to tyrannize, as the Papall or Epiſcopall?* And whereas it is ſaid that Presbytery diſclaimes coercive power to

not [illegible] [illegible] upon

be in the Church, but about it only to be imployed by the Civill Magiſtrate in behalfe and benefit of the Church, I would faine be informed, whether the Civill Magiſtrate be Judge when it is fittting to imploy ſuch power for behoofe of the Church; and if he be, whether then the Civill Magiſtrate be not above the Church, and every member and the whole Church lyable to correction though they offend not in their owne opinions; and if the Civill Magiſtrate may not move therein untill the Church or Presbytery require, whether ſuch may not be ſaid the Churches uſing of the Civill ſword in a more ſuperlative and ſovereigne way, little differing from what they practiſe in the Papacie, which is firſt to degrade and diſrobe all Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and ſo deliver up, both them and all others that ſhall be found guilty unto the Civill Magiſtrate, which may not refuſe to ſee the execution done.

And becauſe it may be objected that many places of Scripture herein alledged, may as well ſeem to ſpeake for a tolleration of Popery, and my ſelfe therein to plead for it, let ſuch be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied, that though I cannot for the preſent make full diſcovery in the word of God, why, or how Papiſts ſhould be forced by fines and other penalties to be of *our* Religion, yet I take not upon me to be ſpokeſman for a tolleration of *theirs*, by reaſon of their Idolatry; but my humble deſires are proſtrated unto the King and Parliament that all other Chriſtians who are now reproached under the name of Puritans, Separatiſts or Nonconformiſts of what kind ſoever, who are ſo far from being ſuſpected, that they muſt needs be acknowledged the greateſt enemies to Idolatry, may enjoy ſuch peace and freedome, as will permit them to keep alwayes a good conſcience both before God and man, *Act.*24.16. And that they would vouchſafe, out of the love they beare to Gods Cauſe and People, to take into further conſideration, that if as Reformed Proteſtants, we may not ſuffer Papiſts and Turks to make profeſſion of their Religion amongſt us, in a qualified and more moderate manner, as in ſome parts of *Germany*, where they have Churches, but are not permitted their publicke Proceſſions, or open expoſing of the Sacrament, as they call it, which no Proteſtants can walke the ſtreets about, without being ſubject to be ſcandalized thereat, how far, in ſuch caſe, it may be found agreeable to the Word of God, for Proteſtants to tranſplant themſelves by Colonies, or as particular Marchants to goe and live in *Turky*, or in *Italy* and *Spaine* eſpecially, where, though they were not troubled with the Inquiſition, though they were not forced to Church, which they frequent notwithſtanding to prevent the danger of it, though they might enjoy their owne Religion quietly, whether they may for this reſpect live in *Italy* and *Spaine*, where they cannot chuſe but ſee (and muſt likewiſe ſeem to countenance by putting off of hats, ſetting out lights, adorning with pictures, hangings, or otherwiſe that part of their houſes where the Proceſſion paſſes, ſometimes with corporall kneeling, and ſeldome without bowing) even at their owne windows, and in the ſtreets as they walke about their buſineſſe, the ſuperſtitious pageantrie of their wil-worſhip, and Idolatry, which is the condition of all our Merchants and Travellers that go amongſt them.

And whereas many will not ſticke to ſay, that ſuch are luke-warme or of no Religion, who deſire a tolleration of ſo many: I anſwer, That it is the freedome of their owne conſcience which they deſire, not to be indifferently of any Religion, or prophanely of none at all, but that they might enjoy alwayes peaceably that Religion, which they have examined and found to be the true one, and not be ſubject to a change ſo often as the Civill State, or thoſe of the higheſt Court ſhall pleaſe to vary; for ſince they are choſen anew ſo often as a Parliament is called, they may every time be of different, if not of oppoſite opinions and religions; and far more is it to be feared, that ſuch will be found careleſſe, if not negligent, in the choice of their Religion, as little troubling themſelves to *trie the ſpirits whether they be of God or no,* 1 John 4. 1. or examine the opinions and doctrines which are taught, receive them currantly, what ever they be, ſo they come ſealed and delivered by authority of State.

It hath more then once come into my thoughts, what might move the wiſdome of God, to leave the Scriptures ſo liable to the diverſities of interpretations, which in regard it ſavoured more of curioſity then edifying, I purpoſely forbore to ruminate thereon; however at the ſame inſtant, it came into my minde as not altogether impoſſible, that God might be ſo pleaſed, to make men more diligent and inquiſitive to ſearch after truth, and conſcientious in imbracing it *with fear and trembling,* Phil. 2. 12. after which manner we are required to *work out our ſalvation*: In this reſpect, the very Law of *Moſes* conſiſting in a dead letter, which the Devil himſelfe could ſcarce controvert or pick a quarrell with, did not render the Jews ſo ſcrupulous and conſcionable, as the Goſpel doth Chriſtians; and even amongſt all thoſe that profeſſe Chriſtianity, I conceive it may eaſily be obſerved, that ſuch as ſtudy the variety of opinions, and trie the ſpirits out of a zeale to truth, chooſing their Religion by their owne judgements, though erronious, are yet more jealous of Gods worſhip, and conſcionable towards men. Shall men ſo far diſtruſt themſelves to feare they may be miſled into a falſe religion or opinion, becauſe they have liberty to make profeſſion of the truth? or can a man be in a better condition then he can wiſh himſelfe to be? are we the more acceptable to God becauſe we will not be of the true Religion, unleſſe we be forced thereto? or are we the more excuſable in being of the falſe, becauſe we are willing to be compelled into it? is the tyranny of the body ſo grievous to us, and are we in love with ſpirituall bondage? To be of a Religion becauſe it is countenanced by the law in that Countrey where thou liveſt, or becauſe moſt men are of the ſame, is no good reaſon; it is not a hundred yeares ſince Popery was eſtabliſhed by law in England, and may be ſo againe for all that we can tell, moſt part of Europe ſtill being Papiſts: Dear Reader, ſearch, examine thine owne heart, and conſider whether it may not be found in the laſt day, that many men have taken up that Religion which was with moſt importunity thruſt upon them, rather then they would take paines to make triall of it: Oh, but ſome will ſay it is preſumption to be wiſer then a Synod or a State; conſider againe, I beſeech thee in the feare of God, who is more arrogant and preſumptuous, he that ſeeketh to enjoy his owne conſcience peaceably, only admoniſhing and informing ſuch as run erronious wayes with all humility and love, or thoſe that imperiouſly, and will they nill they, conſtraine others to make profeſſion of ſuch opinions as they themſelves are of? and yet there is no *medium* between an implicite faith, and that which a mans owne judgement and underſtanding leads him to.

But ſome will ſtill object and ſay, what ſhall be done to thoſe that are obſtinately malignant, and maliciouſly perverſe in their owne opinions? I anſwer, That as in the Parable it is ſaid, *If they hear not Moſes and the Prophets, neither will they be perſwaded, though one roſe from the dead,* Luke 16. 31. So if informing, exhorting, and ſuch fair means, or others which are Scripture proofe, doe not prevaile with ſuch as are led into falſe opinions, harſh and compulſive, or other which are unwarrantable cannot, and therefore to charge a man that he is wilfully blinde, and will not ſee the truth, if he ſubmit himſelfe to heare and read what ſhall be lawfully required of him in that behalfe, is the moſt *uncivill, unreaſonable,* and *unchriſtianlike* offence that words know how to utter, and flatly againſt all reaſon, ordinary policie, & Scripture, to endeavour or think that the myſticall Body of our Saviour may poſſibly be built up after ſuch a manner, as it ſhould alwayes remaine in continuall fear and power of men to pull it downe againe; and though we ſhould ſuppoſe, that this very man who is thus reproached, had yeelded and complied in whatſoever could have been expected from him, yet it was impoſſible for him to be in heart of this or that opinion, to beleeve this or that doctrine of truth, untill God had touched his heart, and called him thereunto. till when they ought ſtill in meekneſſe to *inſtruct even thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of truth*, 2 Tim. 2. 25. as appears more largely in the following Diſcourſe: We ſay that Church Papiſts are moſt dangerous, and hypocrites the worſt of men, what ground have we then, or how can we excuſe our provoking them to goe to Church, or tempting them to be ſuch by ſo many ſeverall waies? that may be lawfull to one who thinks ſo, which to another would be ſin, becauſe he doubts thereof: have we not learned that eating of meats only was ſin in ſome good Chriſtians, 1 Cor. 8. 10, 11. when others might freely eat thereof without any guiltineſſe at all? how much more may the ſame caſe happen in points of diſcipline or doctrine, wherein the worſhip of God is more highly intereſſed and concerned.

I confeſſe my ſelfe much inferiour to the taske I have undertook, and ſhould in no ſort have preſumed upon it, had I not apprehended my ſelfe to be called thereunto, through the ſilence of ſo many who were abundantly better qualified to undergoe it; however I doubt not but God will be ſo far forth pleaſed to ſecond my weak endeavours, as ſundry well diſpoſed ſouls may be provoked to light their torches at theſe ſparkles, and proſecute it with more advantage; for this cauſe am I moved to make them publick, not for any private reſpect or intereſt of mine own, further then they are involved in the generall; for if at any time I ſtood in need of liberty and freedome in mine own particular, I am not ſuch a ſtranger to forreigne Countries, both of ſeverall climates and profeſſions, but that I can finde the way thither againe to purchaſe my enlargement.

I know I have not obſerved the ſymmetrie and rules of Architecture in contriving ſo large a Portall for ſo ſmall a Fabrick, however, before I take my leave, let me advertiſe thee, that I plead not againſt, but for liberty, and that the beſt of all liberties, the Liberty of Conſcience; not for, but againſt impriſoning, fining, or tormenting, of all others the moſt tyrannicall, for matters meerly of Religion; not for, but againſt the ſhedding bloud, Chriſtian bloud, Proteſtant bloud of the moſt conſcientious Chriſtians, Gods deareſt Saints, the Lords inheritance, for whoſe ſalvation only our Saviour ſhed his owne moſt precious bloud. Dear Reader, let but the thought hereof prevail with thee to demurre a little, and conſider, whether this controverſie, about liberty or bondage, life and death both temporall and ſpirituall, though heretofore ſeldome thought on, be not worth debating; *Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa*: diſclaime all carnall wiſdome which knew not what to counſell thee; renounce thine owne ſelf will and wiſhes, that fooliſhly have wiſhed and willed ſo many things unduly, as had not God witheld them from thee, muſt needs have been thy finall ruine: And now at laſt, fit and prepare thy minde to receive in ſuch further light and truth, as the Bleſſed Spirit ſhall pleaſe to viſit thee withall, and reſt aſſured, that God who now ſtands looking out for ſuch labourers, wil in ſome degree and meaſure according to thy readineſſe, make thee an inſtrument of a *ſanctified peace and reformation*, wherewith three Kingdomes are now in travell, to his owne glory, and thy eternall happineſſe: Which God of his infinite goodneſſe beſtow upon thee, and all ſuch as in ſincerity ſeek *Peace* and *Truth*: Amen.

Beſides miſpointing, the Errata are many, and ſome of them very groſſe, in which reſpect the Reader will doubtleſſe finde the benefit thereof, if before he proceed any further he reſolve to rectifie theſe that follow, viz. Page 4. line 17. for periſh, read perſiſt. ibid. p.l.35. take. p.6.l.13. ingenuous. ib.p.l.38. Barbery p.9.l.12. many times. p.10.l.20 perſiſt. p.12.l.22. whence. p.14.l.26. thoſe. p.18.l.33. ingenuous. p.20.l.5. doubting. p.22.l.14. make. p.24.l.39. one on. p.28. l.32. expreſſely. ib.p.l.41. theſe. p 29.l.3. cannot poſſibly. p 30.l.29. with. p.32.l.13. make. p.33.l. 11. apprehended. p.47.l.15. from though he write, to the end of l.17. muſt come in at l.20. after Beza. p.49.l.22. extraordinarily ib.p.l.29. us. ib p.l.38. principles. p.50.l.12. your. ib.p.l.27. as is yet. p.51.l.41. rather than. p.55.l.20. have not. p.56.l,6. principles.

Liberty of Conſcience:

OR,

The only means to obtain PEACE *and* TRUTH.

THE Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine, are the three moſt dreadfull ſcourges wherewith God uſes to chaſtiſe a ſtubborne People; and although that Sinne be the only generall cauſe to pull downe vengeance, and God ordinarily makes uſe of naturall meanes to convey it upon us in what kinde ſoever; yet in the former, man appeares to be a more principall and immediate inſtrument, then in the two latter, and doubtleſſe by Gods permiſſion, hath a greater liberty and power to beginne, and put an end to it, which was the cauſe that the Sword onely hath deſtroyed far more without compariſon, then Famine and peſtilence together: wherefore when *David* found himſelfe in a ſtrait by the three propoſitions of Sword, Peſtilence and Famine, which God made unto him as a puniſhment for *numbring of the people*, knowing full well the cruelties of man, choſe to fall into the hand of God, who therefore ſent the Peſtilence upon Iſraell, which in this reſpect beſides others may juſtly be thought the more mercifull of all three, and by conſequence of what was ſaid, it will follow, that ſuch as have the keeping of the Sword, with power to draw and put it up again, muſt be accountable for all the bloudſhed: Had Kings no other thornes about their Crownes, doubtleſſe this one if duly thought on, would keep them circumſpect and watchfull in every action, the leaſt whereof, though inſenſibly, conduces ſomewhat towards Peace or Warfare.

1 Chron.

Warres, and rumours of warres have ever beene, and are at preſent throughout the world; but ſince Princes became Chriſtians, it may have been obſerved, how Chriſtendome a ſpot of ground only, hath continually been the Cock-pit, & all the world beſides but as a breathing place; however we ought not for this cauſe to be forward in juſtifying Wars the more, but rather make ſearch and ſtrict enquiry whence it comes to paſſe, that Chriſtians are ſo plunged therein, ſince they of all other people can juſtifie it leaſt.

B I know

Hoc universaliter verum [illegible] est nisi bellum per se illicitum sit aut saltem Christi
illicitum (quamvis aliis licitum) quod minime probare possum, / peccatum quidem quovis miti-
ficabile est apud Christianos, vel potius ~~magis~~ [illegible] damnabile, sed actio que si
bellum [illegible]

I know there may be a juſt War, but what I am now to ſay, is meant only againſt that which is unjuſt, and ſo deſire it may be underſtood, whereof I doe the more preſume becauſe no Warre but hath much evill as the effect thereof; and however for ſuch as do begin a War, we may charitably conceive of both ſides, that they apprehend it to be lawfull, yet if we examine ſtanders by, and heare what all that are not intereſſed doe judge thereof, we ſhall finde them generally condemning both ſides, though one perhaps in a greater meaſure than another.

n.6.10. St. *Paul* ſayes, that *covetouſneſſe is the root of all evill*, and Warre which is the greateſt of thoſe evills, queſtionleſſe was never yet without a coveting; however, becauſe that neither coveting, nor ſuch other motives as are the reall and originall cauſes of taking up of Armes, have not for the moſt part beene found, or thought ſufficient to prevaile, or beare ſway enough with all ſuch as are to be required to contribute largely for the maintenance thereof; I ſay, it may moſt commonly be obſerved, that whatſoever were the reall, though more ſecret ground of War, Religion was ſtill pretended to be the principall, or at leaſt endeavoured to be made ſeem ſo far forth hazarded and engaged in the quarrell, that no man might adventure to call in queſtion the lawfulneſſe thereof, or ſeem backward in ſupplying without palpable ſcandall and ſuſpition of luke-warmneſſe in Religion: I need not bring examples for proofe hereof, every mans own acquaintance in Hiſtories will furniſh himſelfe abundantly.

But in regard that Religion, though perhaps it ſeldome was the primary and ſole cauſe of making War (in that I thinke few have been ſo conſcientious, yet ſuch as ſome Caſuiſts conceive, were but a miſgrounded conſcience in reſpect of an offenſive War) hath notwithſtanding been, and ſtill is the moſt powerfull meanes and ſtratagem to countenance and continue it, whereby that which ought to be moſt deare and ſacred, becomes a pander to ſatisfie our luſts, the conſideration whereof, the ſhedding ſo much Chriſtian bloud, the obſtructing of the Goſpels propagation, the miſerable devaſtation of whole Countries, with infinite perpetrating and multiplication of moſt enormous and execrable villanies, have moved me to conſider with my ſelfe, which way Religion might be vindicated and redeemed from this abuſe, the grand meanes of fomenting Wars diſcovered, the main jealouſies prevented which

Princes pretend to have of one another, or King and people amongſt themſelves,towards accommodation of the preſent Wars, and cutting off occaſion from ſuch as otherwiſe might ſpring up againe hereafter.

Whether Religion have been the reall cauſe of ſo much War in Chriſtendome, or ſo pretended only,makes all one to what I have in hand, which is to prove in this Diſcourſe, by Gods aſſiſtance, how a man ought not to be perſecuted for conſcience ſake,as will appeare by the inconſiſtencie thereof with ſundry Scriptures following,which being once concluded on,and put in practice,will make an open way for the free paſſage of the Goſpel, quite cut off the greateſt jealouſies and feares which perplex the mindes of Princes, States and People, when they ſuppoſe or but alleadge an endangering of their Religion, and conſequently the likelieſt courſe of reducing all Chriſtian Countries to peace amongſt themſelves,and friendly intercourſe with one another.

St. *Paul* ſaith, *You are bought with a price, be ye not the ſervants of* 1 Cor.7.2
men: this muſt be meant for matters of this world, or elſe of that 23,24.
which is to come; about ſubjection of the body in civill affaires,or
ſubjection of the ſoule in ſpirituall; but it cannot be underſtood
for matters of the body, or of this world, becauſe it would then
contradict other places of Scripture, which command *all to be ſubject* Rom.13.1.
unto higher Powers, ſervants to their maſters, wives to their huſbands, 1 Pet.2 13 Eph.5.22.
and the like; in which reſpect, as alſo from the coherence 6 5.
with the words aforegoing, it appeares neceſſarily to be underſtood, 1 Pet.2.8.
that we muſt not be ſubject concerning our Religion,matters Col.3.22.
of conſcience or touching the ſoule, to be of this or that Religion, becauſe we are commanded by King or State, for though it be the true Religion which we profeſſe, yet if we were forced to it, it will doe us little good, nor be ever a whit available, for God accepts only of willing ſervice, ſuch as we performe of our owne free election, not by compulſion.

Object. Neither is the objection good, that though men be forced into
the true Religion at firſt without any liking of their owne, yet afterwards
it falls out that ſuch approve of it, and will not bee
brought to change nor alter, which muſt needs be acceptable to
God: *Anſw.* For firſt, the compelling of a man to any thing againſt his
owne conſcience, eſpecially in matters of faith, is a *doing evill*,
which God forbids, *that good may come of it*, and therefore we can- Rom.3.8. 14.23.

not expect that he ſhould proſper, ſo bad a meanes to produce ſo good effect, as that people at firſt conſtrained to make profeſſion of the true Religion, ſhould afterwards prove ſincere and true beleevers, by vertue of thoſe coercive powers which were meerly unwarrantable and ſinfull, but for ſuch as doe ſo continue, it is to be attributed to ſome other meanes whereby they became convinced of the truth, or more ſecret call of God, which would in due time have found out, and brought them home into his ſheepfold without the helpe of a tyranous inquiſition.

This is more evident if we conſider the multitudes of people and whole Nations which live and dye in the Religion they were borne, with equall conſtancie and ſecurity, though their faith and tenets be diametrically oppoſite to one another; and for thoſe that happen to be thus of the true Religion, becauſe borne in it, though it be the true one, and that they will not be brought to change, yet for moſt part they can give no better reaſon of their faith, then thoſe that are in the wrong, and ~~periſh~~ as obſtinately, for they tooke not their Religion upon choice or triall, neither do they continue it upon judgement, never having ſearched or tried the Scriptures, as we are commanded; and indeed they may well ſay, to what purpoſe ſhall we *examine our ſelves*, as St. *Paul* ſaith,
r.13.5. *whether we be in the faith or no?* to what end, *Try the ſpirits whether*
h.4.1. *they be of God?* or, *Search the Scriptures*, whether the doctrine
1.8. taught us now be the ſame which the Apoſtles left us? when we may not profeſſe the Religion we apprehend to be the only true one, but are forced to make profeſſion of that only which the State ſhall thinke fit, and declare to be ſuch.

Nay, in that St. *Paul* ſayes, *Trie the ſpirits whether they bee of God or no*; and tells them plainly, that *if any man thinke himſelfe to be ſomething, then he is nothing, that he deceiveth himſelfe, and that every man ſhould therefore prove his owne worke, and that then he ſhall have rejoycing in himſelfe alone, and not in another, for every man ſhall beare his owne burthen*, *Gal.*6.3,4,5. And to the Theſſalonians he ſaies, *Prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good*, 1 *Theſſ.*5.21. Do not ſuch thwart and reſiſt theſe Scriptures, who take upon them to aſſigne and ſtint men unto certaine ſpirits, as though they could be ſaved by the faith and knowledge of others, with expreſſe peremptory commands to receive them for the true Spirit of God, without any triall or examination? and indeed it is better to take up a

Religion without triall upon adventure, then having examined and found it Antichriſtian or erronious, ſubmit unto it notwithſtanding; but certainly if well examined, this will appeare not a bare *adding or taking from the word of God*, but a flat oppoſition, and giving the lie, as I may terme it, unto the Scriptures, for whom a heavier judgement is preparing, if ſuch a one were poſſible, then that which is denounced in the Revelation. Rev. 22. 1

What if the Prince and Peeres ſhould change Religion, muſt they be ſubject alſo to perſecution? I know not how they can be well ſecured ſo long as ſuch Statutes are in force, for in that they concerne matters of Religion, if they binde at all, they binde moſt of all: But what if a King and Parliament ſhould repeale all Acts againſt the Papiſts, and paſſe others of the ſame tenour againſt all Proteſtants, muſt we therefore all turne Papiſts? If that Religion muſt be received and forced upon the conſciences of people, which by a major part is voted to be the true one, I know no remedy but that we may be lyable againe hereafter to change as often as thoſe that lived in the Reignes of *Henry* 8. *Edward* 6. Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

My humble deſires therefore are, that we may not procraſtinate any longer the preventing ſo great a miſery, as the world cannot poſſibly torment us with a greater, not through confidence of a preſent prevailing party, or ſuch other aſſurance as carnall policie and wiſdome doe only furniſh us withall; the Biſhops condition may be ſufficient item to us in this behalfe, who, notwithſtanding ſo many ſuffered by them, had within leſſe then five yeares ſince greater multitudes of abettors within this Kingdome, then ever any kinde of Church government in likelihood will find hereafter; it is neceſſary therefore to proceed upon a ſure foundation, by paſſing an act againſt perſecution for Religion, which beſides the agreeableneſſe with Scripture, all degrees of people having once taſted the ſweetneſſe of it, will never ſuffer themſelves to be bereaved thereof againe, and by that means become a ſure eſtabliſher of the generall peace of the Kingdome, and diſpoſe every one more willingly to ſubmit to higher powers, though to ſome prejudice of his propriety when he apprehends himſelf certain to enjoy the Liberty of his Conſcience.

Quid si in hac
Arminianism[illegible]
Papismum &
Turcismum,
in convivio
versari [illegible]
tum has relig
[illegible] permitte

But may we *not any longer be ſubject unto men?* Surely then in 1 Cor 7. 23 whatſoever ſenſe it be meant, we muſt be ſubject unto Chriſt, Matth. 11. 30. *his yoke is eaſie*; and we muſt not live lawleſſe as we our ſelves liſt, but perſecution impoſes a heavier yoke of ſubjection upon the Conſcience, then any Prince or Tyrant in the world doth upon the body of his Subjects: And although every ſoule muſt be ſubject to higher Powers in civill matters, yet there are degrees of ſubjection and relations in a Common-wealth whereby one is bound to yeeld more or leſſe ſubjection, obedience, reſpect, and honour, according to the reſpective Lawes and ranke wherein he ſtands; and yet in moſt Countries every Subject from the higheſt to the loweſt hath a kinde of freedome, and poſſibility of quitting himſelfe from the moſt toilſome and inferiour vaſſalage, if he be a man of abilities or wealth; but that Law which impoſes on the *Note.* Conſcience, ſerves all alike, ſave that the moſt ingenious and conſcientious are moſt afflicted with it, and ſo long as it is in force, a good Conſcience hath no meanes either to evade it or diſpence with it.

But how fruitleſſe a courſe it is to force men to conformity in a Religion they have no liking of, will appeare by the ſmall ſucceſſe it wrought on Papiſts here in *England*, many whereof went to Church when they were ſtrictly lookt too, ſtopping their eares with wooll becauſe they would not heare at all, or heare with an intention to beleeve the contrary; or elſe like Proteſtant Merchants and travellers in *Italy* and *Spaine*, which ordinarily goe to Maſſe and Veſpers, to avoid ſuſpition of the Inquiſition, but becauſe their hearts joyn not in the Church devotions, they purpoſely ſend their eyes a gadding after beauty, whileſt many, too too many, by cuſtome aſſume ſo great a liberty, as if the eye could not ſin in one reſpect, whileſt the heart conſented not in another, or rather as if God would pardon them the luſt of the eye, ſo long as they were not Popiſh in their hearts.

But more remarkable it is in the Moores of *Spaine* and Jewes of *Portugal*, ſome whereof diſſembled Popery in their ſucceſſive generations ſome hundreds of yeares together, untill the Moores being diſcovered in ſuch multitudes, as that the King not thinking it ſafe to retaine them longer in ſo ſlaviſh a captivity of the Conſcience, nor able to give them a tolleration without the Popes diſpencing, commanded them to be gone, and accordingly about the yeare 1606. they conveyed themſelves into *Barbaria* and *Turkey*, with ſuch a ſtocke of Chriſtian crafts and pollicie, as not only the

Pirates, but thoſe whole Nations are much advantaged and improved, to the no leſſe ſhame than detriment of Chriſtianity: Oh let not the like befall *England*, with her manufactors, but I feare it is almoſt too late to wiſh ſo, for ſo many thouſands of them being already gone, are able to teach all the world, unleſſe both they be ſuddenly recalled, and others encouraged to continue by a Liberty of Conſcience.

And for the Jewes in *Portugall*, the Inquiſition uſed alwaies to be full of them, ſeldome without foure hundred or five hundred together, and though moſt of them will not ſcruple, and many of them chuſe rather to marry with ſuch as really are Chriſtians, that they may with more ſecurity play the hypocrites, yet by ſuch as live amongſt them it is obſerved, that though from one generation to another, they have matched into Chriſtian families, yet they reſerve and inſtill their Jewiſh principles ſo ſubtilly into their offſpring, as the children though they have remaining in them not above one two and thirtieth part of a Jew, are notwithſtanding knowne by infallible preſumptions to be Jewes in heart, though outwardly they make profeſſion otherwiſe.

In the Goſpel according to St. *John*, *Jeſus* anſwered, *My* John 18.36. *Kingdome is not of this world, if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my ſervants fight that I ſhould not be delivered up to the Jewes.* What can be more oppoſite unto the intentions and proceedings of our Saviour, who rather than reſiſt choſe to ſuffer perſecution unto death, than theſe that perſecute others unto death? If Chriſts Kingdome be not of this world, but if it be myſticall and ſpirituall, then muſt it neceſſarily be erected by powerfull preaching of the Word, and by the Spirit: When *Peter* ſmote off the high Prieſt ſervants eare in defence of his Maſter, our Saviour bids him put *up* Matth. 26. 51, 52. *his ſword*, and inſtead of commending him and his zeal in reſcuing the ſacred Perſon of our bleſſed Saviour, ſaies, *All they that take the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword:* And St. *Paul* exhorts the Epheſians Eph. 6.10.17. to *be ſtrong*, but *in the Lord, and in the power of his might*; not brandiſhing the ſword of civill Magiſtrates, but *to take the helmet of ſalvation, and ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:* and in another place he ſayes, that *Faith comes by hearing, and how ſhall they be-* Rom. 10.14.17 *leeve in him they have not heard? and how ſhall they heare without a preacher?* And yet if it had been as good a way, *Paul* would doubtleſſe have taught it them, by ſaying, how ſhall they beleeve unleſſe you tell them? and how ſhall they know what is to bee beleeved, unleſſe you impoſe it upon them? But this was none of *Pauls* Doctrine; both our Saviour and his Apoſtles not only taught and practiſed, but ſealed the contrary with their bloud.

The Spaniards are blamed, and that juſtly, by all other Nations for having maſſacred ſo many millions of Weſt-Indians in their owne Country, under pretence of Religion, though it be evident, it was only that they might the eaſier rifle them of their gold and ſilver, and ſo it is in all perſecutions pretended for Conſcience ſake; for did we but a little conſider with our ſelves, we would eaſily conclude, that few have been yet ſo mad to put people to death meerly for Religion ſake; I know that many in paſſion, rage and fury, will ſay it is pity ſuch Hereticks ſhould live, but when ſuch men are in a calme mood, if another *Nathan*, like him that came to *David*, ſhould ſay unto them, there is ſuch a neighbour of mine charitable to the poore, upright in his dealing, courteous in his behaviour, meek and lowly minded, loyall to his Sovereigne, true to his Country, chuſing rather to ſuffer than offer injuries, beloved of all that knew him, and never ſo much as tainted with ſuſpition of any thing blame-worthy, till of late being accuſed as a Separatiſt for ſeducing the Kings liege people unto his owne Religion; the Jury finding him guilty, he is condemned to dye; will not a tender hearted Chriſtian be ready to reply, it is pity ſuch a one ſhould dye? and though the Law condemne him, the King is mercifull, and doubtleſſe would reprieve him if he knew he had been loyall to his Country, and committed no other ſinne then endeavouring by argument from Scripture to bring others of his owne Religion: now though moſt men, or every good man would be loth that a conſcientious Chriſtian ſhould be put to death for doing nothing but what he is bound in conſcience, the winning Proſelites to his cauſe, his religion, which amongſt ſo many different ſorts of Chriſtians, he thinks to be the right, and himſelfe no leſſe obliged to publiſh it, then *Peter* and *John*, who when they were commanded by the Magiſtrate not to ſpeake or teach in the name of *Jeſus*, anſwered, *We cannot but ſpeake the things which we have ſeen and heard*: And when our Saviour ſent out his Apoſtles, he ſaid unto them, *What I tell you in darkneſſe, ſpeake ye in light, and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the houſe tops, and feare not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoule*: Now though

m.12.1.

s 4.17.10.

th.10.27,

though Chriſtians generally will not acknowledge that they put any to death meerly for Conſcience ſake, yet ſo long as there is a Law whereunto ſuch as differ from us in religion,or any point thereof ſhal be more lyable then our ſelves; as the Jewes, *when they could not reſiſt and gainſay the ſpirit wherewith Steven ſpake, ſtirred up the people, ſuborned and ſet up falſe witneſſes to accuſe him*, *Acts* 6.11.13. So,amongſt us there will not be wanting one or other who for ſome private intereſt and by-reſpect, will finde out one to accuſe, others to witneſſe,a Jury to give verdict and make guilty, a Judge to pronounce the ſentence,and at laſt finde meanes to keep the King from reprieving, all of them thus conſpiring to put him to death by the advantage of ſuch a Law, whereas really it was not his Religion which they ſo much regarded, and they may cleerly ſay they put him not to death for his Religion, but it was their owne reſpective private benefit and ends which corrupted them to compaſſe his diſtruction by force and colour of ſuch a Law.

But why? what reaſon which is Scripture proofe can be given, why a particular Gentleman ſhould be put out of a Mannor whereof he hath the propriety by inheritance or purchaſe, more than a whole Nation, a Nation of Infidells and Pagans for Religion ſake? Perhaps it *Obj* may be ſaid, the State hath enacted a Law whereby this Gentlemans whole revenue or part of it becomes forfeited, becauſe he is not of the true Religion; whereto I anſwer, That Popery was enacted to be the *An* true Religion in Queen *Maries* dayes,and that which Proteſtants profeſſe in Queen *Elizabeths*, yet they could not be both the true Religion, however the Subject was not ſuffered to ſay ſo much of either, ſo long as they had a Parliament protection; but doubtleſſe all juſt Laws have their grounds and rule in Scripture,and more exactly ſuch as concerne Religion, which is the *unum neceſſarium:* and if a Pagan Nation may not be invaded in their territories, becauſe they will not be of our Religion, nor a neighbouring Chriſtian people differing from us in ſome opinions, why ſhould a particular man have *his only lambe*, 2 Sam
his pittance taken from him for refuſing only to be of a religion, or of 4.
an opinion which would abſolute *damne him becauſe he doubts*, ſo long Rom.
as he lives peaceably, and gives unto *Cæſar* the things which are 23.
Cæſars?

In Geneſis we finde that *Hamor* and *Sechem* told the men of their City that *Jacob and his children were peaceable, and therefore moved that they might dwell in the land and trade therein*; but when *Simeon* and *Levi* had treacherouſly ſlaine *Hamor, Sechem,* and all their males, whilſt they were ſore after their late circumciſion, though it was in revenge that *Sechem* had firſt defiled their ſiſter *Dinah*, yet *Jacob* reproved them

C greatly,

ſaying ye have troubled me, and made me to ſtinke amongſt the inhabitants, *Gen.* 34.2.21.25.30. So when the Proteſtant Princes made interceſſion to the Emperours of *Germany*, or Kings of *France* in behalfe of ſuch as profeſſed the reformed Religion: nay, when any Chriſtian Prince made meanes to Turke or Perſian that their ſubjects might live within their juriſdictions enjoying Liberty of Conſcience, doe we thinke they uſed any other arguments then that ſuch Chriſtians were peaceable harmleſſe men, medled not with the State or Government, and deſired only that they might be permitted to recide there, and enjoy the freedome of their Conſcience, where they had their revenues, friends, or beſt meanes to get a livelihood? they moved not that ſuch poore Chriſtians might not be perſecuted becauſe they were of the true Religion, for every man thinkes his owne to be the trueſt, and though he take advice of never ſo many, will not let another be finall judge thereof; for Turkes have as much reaſon to perſecute Chriſtians, as Chriſtians have to perſecute Turkes; but for Chriſtians to perſecute one another, and yet blame one another for the ſame perſecution; how can they chuſe but thinke St. *Pauls* reprehenſion was not ſo ſutable to the Romans, as themſelves? and how can they expect to avoid Gods judgements mentioned in the Text, ſo long as they ~~periſh~~ ſo wilfully, condemning others for what they doe themſelves? the words are theſe; Therefore *thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt, for*
.1. *wherein thou judgeſt another thou condemneſt thy ſelfe, for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things: And thinkeſt thou this, O man, that judgeſt them which doe ſuch things, and doeſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgement?* Might not St. *Paul* if he were now living ſay, Thou Proteſtant, ſayeſt thou a man [a Calviniſt] ſhould not perſecute, and doeſt thou the ſame? Thou Calviniſt, ſayeſt thou a man [a Proteſtant] ſhould not perſecute, and doeſt thou the ſame? Since it is moſt true, that they
6. muſt mutually juſtifie, or mutually condemne each other, and though it will be by both ſides alleadged, that none are put to death amongſt them meerly for Religion ſake, I feare me, it may be found upon due ſcrutiny, how many have dyed on both ſides, as well for exerciſing their owne Religion, as ſeeking to convert others; and in regard that both Calviniſts, Lutherans, and all others of the reformed Religion
9. have received and acknowledged our Saviours command to *love their neighbours as themſelves*, and *doe to others as they would be done to*, and thinke they are no leſſe bound then St. *Peter*, *when he was converted, to*
22 *convert his brethren*, and this being a doctrine and point of Faith, which all reformed Chriſtians make profeſſion of, ſuch of them as have been impriſoned, fined, baniſhed, or put to death, for no other cauſe but

what this point of their faith obliged them to, cannot be ſaid otherwiſe then to have beene thus perſecuted meerly for Religion ſake: And there is this more of aggravation, that for the moſt part theſe fierce and perſecuting Chriſtians eſteem each other in a damnable condition ſo long as they periſh and dye therein, and yet either of them being by the other condemned to death ſhall have his pardon, if he become a convert, which is a deſtroying of the ſpirit that the fleſh may be ſaved, juſt oppoſite to St. *Pauls* doctrine, but if he refuſe, they proceed to execution, which according to their owne opinion ſends them irrevocably to hell, whereas in Chriſtian charity they ought rather to reprieve them, that there might be a poſſibility of their converſion: and were we not beſotted with moſt ſupine careleſſenes or ignorance, wee ſhould not chuſe but ſee that perſecuting and putting to death the body of ſuch as differ from us in religion or opinion, cannot poſſibly be out of charity to their ſoules, but muſt needs acknowledge that either we are guilty of their periſhing both body and ſoule, if they dye in ſuch opinions, or elſe condemne our ſelves on the other ſide for putting them to death, becauſe they were of ſuch a religion or opinion as accompained them to heaven: If St. *Paul* to the Corinthians preſcribes all 1
Chriſtians a way of proceeding againſt ſinners *for deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of our Lord Jeſus*; and if hee tels *Timothy* that *a ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all* 2
men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſſe inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, 2.
if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth, and that they may recover themſelves out of the ſnares of the Divell: what art thou, O Chriſtian, who contradicting the Holy Ghoſt in theſe places of Scripture, thus putteſt Chriſtians to death after ſuch a manner, and in ſuch a time, as that according to the faith whereof thou thy ſelfe makeſt profeſſion, the ſpirit of ſuch Chriſtians cannot poſſibly be ſaved, but muſt inevitably be damned in the day of our Lord Jeſus? conſider of it, I beſeech thee in the feare of God, and be humbled, endeavouring to redeem thine owne miſdoing by the grace of God, in earneſtly petitioning his divine Goodneſſe to diſpoſe the King and Parliament for repealing ſome lawes, and enacting others, whereby the people may be free hereafter from ſo dangerous a temptation, as this power and colour of perſecuting others for Religion ſake leads them unto.

But I muſt not yet leave St. *Paul* without making a little more uſe of ſo bright a light, who reproving the Corinthians in that they ſuffered ſuch as committed fornication to live amongſt them, though abſent by virtue of his Apoſtleſhip, judged ſuch offenders to be taken from

1 Cor.5.3, them, and by the ſame authority commanded the Church of Corinth to
4,5. put it in execution, & that *when they came together in the name of the Lord*
Jeſus, they ſhould deliver ſuch a one unto Sathan for the deſtruction of the fleſh,
that the ſpirit might be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus: Now either this
delivering up to Sathan was a preſent putting to death with a blaſphemous
inference, that the ſudden putting to death is a ſaving of the ſoul,
or elſe it is only ſome Eccleſiaſticall and Chriſtian cenſure whereby the
ſinner might have liberty to ſurvive for the mortifying of his body and
deſtroying all fleſhly luſts that the ſoule might eſcape in the dreadfull
day of judgement, ſo that ſuch as put the body to death, as much as in
them lyes, dam the ſoul, quite oppoſite to St. *Pauls* intention, who preſcribed
Note. another way of juſtice with his expreſſe reaſon for it, *That the*
ſoule might be ſaved; wherefore they may well be reproved and reprehended
Rom. 2.4. in his owne words to the Romans, *Deſpiſeſt thou the riches of the*
goodneſſe and forbearance and long ſuffering, not knowing that the goodneſſe of
1 Cor.3.6 *God leadeth thee to repentance?* And whereas in other places, he ſaies, *We*
are by Chriſt made able miniſters of the New Teſtament, not of the letter, but
of the Spirit, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life; unleſſe in this,
and ſuch other Scriptures, it be underſtood that the Goſpel diſpences
ordinarily with the letter of the Law, to mitigate and qualifie temporall
Exod. 21. puniſhments of the body, as well as to free us from eternall torments
12.15.17. of the ſoule; I doe not finde where Chriſtian people and Commonwealths
Lev.20.10 take power of ſparing ſuch offenders which by the expreſſe
and 24.17 letter of the Law were commanded to be put to death.

21. But ſome will ſay, if men be ſuffered to preach ſuch groſſe erronious
Num. 35. doctrines, the number of Hereticks would quickly be ſo great, that true
16. & ſeq. *Object.* Beleevers might be ſwallowed up by them, as good corne which is
choaked many times through abundance of tares and weeds; whereto
Anſw. I anſwer, That we ſhould do that only which is commanded and warrantable,
relying upon Gods providence concerning the event, he
ſpares not theſe erronious Beleevers or Hereticks that they might ſeduce
Joh.24.24 and pervert the faithfull, for that is impoſſible, but that the faithfull
might in his due time reduce the misbeleevers unto the truth, who
if they ſhould be taken off preſently, would for all we can expect have
1 Cor.7. periſhed in their ſinnes: And as St. *Paul* taught the Corinthians, *If a*
2. 14.16. *brother have a wife that beleeveth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let*
him not put her away, for the unbeleeving wife is ſanctified by the beleeving
husband, and what knoweſt thou O husband, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy wife?
Surely this text may be well applied to the whole Church which is the
Spouſe of Chriſt, and ſuch as finally cut off the leaſt inferiour member
by perſecution, be ſo much more juſtly cenſured and condemned by it.

Our Saviour having ſent his meſſengers to a village of the Samaritanes Luke 9,
to make ready for him, the people of the village refuſed to receive 32. & ſeq.
them, which when *James* and *John* ſaw, *they deſired to bring downe
fire from heaven to conſume them as Eliah did*, but *our Saviour rebuked them*,
ſaying, *ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of, for the Sonne of man is not
come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them*; I wiſh this Scripture were
well conſidered on by all that make profeſſion of the Goſpel.

The Inquiſitors of theſe dayes have no better ground for their ſtrict
proceedings, then the Old Teſtament which expreſſely commanded Exod. 34.
Idolatry to be rooted out, their *Altars to be pulled downe, and groves wherein* 13.
they worſhipped falſe gods, to be deſtroyed; there have we alſo the example Deut. 7. 5.
of *Eliah*, *who conſumed the two Captaines with their ſifties*, which were & 12. 3.
ſent from the Idolatrous King *Ahaziah*: the Diſciples *John* and *James*, it 2 King 18
ſeems, were then of the ſame mind in this reſpect, & if they could have 4.
had their owne wills, would have cauſed fire from heaven to have rained Mich. 5. 14
upon the oppoſers of the New Teſtament as *Eliah* had done upon 2 King. 1.
the Idolatrous and diſobedient of the Old, but *our Saviour who was very* 1.
meekneſſe, reproved them for not knowing what manner of ſpirit they Math. 11.
were of, as if he ſhould have ſaid, you muſt not have the ſpirit of perſecuters, 29.
but ſuch a ſpirit as thoſe which are to be perſecuted have need
of; and for this cauſe he had before taught them a leſſon of preparation, Math 10.
ſaying, *When they perſecute you in this City, flye ye into another, the diſciple* 23, 24, 25.
*is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant above his Lord: If they have
called the Maſter of the houſe Beelzebub, how much more ſhall they call them* 2 Tim. 3.
of his houſhold? And for the deſtruction of the groves which had beene 12.
made to commit Idolatry in, if it concerne Proteſtant Reformers to do
the like under the Goſpel, we ſhould not finde many Churches in *England*
which could eſcape; but whether they be all to be pulled down,
or why one more then another, I leave it to ſuch as have already delivered
their opinions to make them good, wiſhing them to remember
that in St. *Pauls* judgement, a good Chriſtian *might have eaten of thoſe* 1 Cor. 8.
meats which had been conſecrated to their Idolls, provided it were no ſcandall & 10. cap.
to a weak beleever.

And although this leſſon was ſo quite contrary to the diſpoſitions of
John and *James* ambitious when they reaſoned amongſt themſelves *who* Luke 9.
ſhould be the greateſt, that they might in liklihood be the more enabled to 46.
perſecute and puniſh others, as appeared afterwards by this raſh and unadviſed
motion of theirs, yet the reprehenſion in both reſpects ſunck ſo
deep into their eares, that the Diſciples never exerciſed greatneſſe amongſt
themſelves, nor perſecution or compulſion towards others,
much leſſe preſcribed it to be practiſed by their ſucceſſors, and in

10. purſuance thereof, St. *Paul* adviſed, or rather required the Corinthi-
ans, and in them all Chriſtians, that they *give no offence; neither to the*
4. *Iewes nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*, and to the Coloſſians
he ſaies, *walke in wiſdome to them that are without*: Now what can be more againſt the rules of wiſdome, then endeavouring to bring into the true Church ſuch as are without by a rigorous way of perſecution? we ſee by daily experience that men are by nothing ſo much obliged and engaged, as by courteſie and affable proceedings, theſe both win and keep the heart faſt, whilſt violence and conſtraint can at beſt, but prevaile upon the body, the ſoule even in that inſtant ſo much more alienated, as the body and outward man was forced to play the hypocrite and yeeld obedience.

What poſſibility is there of converting Papiſts, Jewes, Turkes, or Infidels to the Faith upon ſuch grounds as moſt Chriſtians hold at preſent? It is generally and truly agreed on, that we ought not to invade their Countries to diſpoſſeſſe them of it, or their meanes, becauſe they refuſe to imbrace Chriſtianity, and I have ſcarce ſo much as heard of any Proteſtants, or others of the reformed Religion (may it be ſpoken for their humbling and amendment) that ever employed themſelves to compaſſe their converſion meerly for Conſcience ſake; few of them have means to come to us, and if they had, how can we thinke they would be willing if they knew they might not live amongſt us, without being forced to a new Religion, before their reaſon and underſtandings were convinced in the truth thereof? and for the ſame reſpects, as alſo in that the Chriſtians in their new Plantations ſeek more after the wealth of the Country, then propagating of the Goſpel, the neighbouring people of ~~theſe~~ parts hate the very name of Chriſtians, make ſuch oppoſition againſt them as they are able, and at laſt, when they have no other remedy, flye further off, not one of a thouſand deſiring their ſociety or acquaintance: can any thing be more contrary to walking in wiſdome towards a people, then to practice ſuch courſes as make themſelves odious and hatefull, that they cannot get to be ad-
r.5. mitted into their company? St. *Paul* having writ unto the Corinthi-
1. ans that they ſhould not accompany with fornicators, leſt they might
miſtake him, he explanes it to them afterwards, that it was not his meaning that they ſhould altogether forbeare to keep company with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous or extortioners, or with Idolaters, for then they muſt needs go out of the world, but if a brother were ſuch a one, they ſhould *not ſo much as eat with him*; from hence I conceive may be inferred, that if the Diſciples of Chriſt had had a civill power to force a way for the Goſpel, yet they thought it

either not lawfull or not expedient to imploy ſuch meanes,becauſe they
forbore to make uſe of milder, for though they might not eat with a
profeſſor, a brother which was a notorious wilfull ſinner, yet ſuch as
were without, though they were covetous, fornicators, extortioners,
and Idolaters to boot, they might eat and keep company with them by
St. *Pauls* permiſſion, when they might as well have avoided it in them 1 C
as in their owne brethren; and whereas Idolatry and other execrable 27.
ſinnes were then ſo rife with all men, that St. *Paul* was forced to ſay
in effect, that it was not poſſible to live, and not keep company with
ſuch ſinners, yet he ſaid not that ſuch as would altogether avoid their
company, muſt ſend ſuch ſinners out of the world, or out of the Country N
by perſecution, which the Inquiſitors of theſe times practiſe, but inſinuates,
that in caſe the world were ſo full of notorious ſinners and
misbeleevers, as that a true Beleever could not live in the world without
converſing with them, and that God would not permit his people
to converſe with them, that then the true Beleevers themſelves ſhould
rather goe out of the world, then ſend ſuch notorious ſinners and miſbeleevers
out of the world in the midſt of their ſinnes by perſecuting
them to death, which I much deſire were well reflected on, as alſo
that paſſage of St. *Johns* Goſpel in the prayer which our Saviour makes
unto his Father in behalfe of his ſheep the true Beleevers, *I pray not that* Joh.
thou ſhouldeſt take them out of the world, but that thou ſhouldeſt keepe them No
from the evill: from whence it may likewiſe be inferred, that if the true
Beleevers could not be kept from the ſinne and evill of the world, in
ſuch caſe they ought rather to pray that God would be pleaſed to take
themſelves out of the world, then to deſire that notorious ſinners or
misbeleevers were taken out of the world in their ſins, whereas ſo long
as they live there is hopes of their repentance.

Our Saviour when he ſent forth his Diſciples, gave them charge to Ma t
preach the Goſpel freely as they had received it freely, and that if they came amongſt 14,1
*ſuch as would not receive or heare them, they ſhould depart thence ſhaking
off the duſt from their feet as a teſtimony againſt them*, which is farre
from a commiſſion to plant the Goſpel with fire and ſword, or other
waies of perſecution, which are practiſed in theſe dayes; and Saint
Marke in his relation thereof makes the commiſſion to be given them, Mark
in theſe words, *Goe ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpel unto every* 15.16
*creature, he that beleeveth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved, but he that beleeveth
not ſhall be damned*: Now though it be not to be meant ſo litterally and
preciſely that they ſhould preach the Goſpel to irrationall creatures, yet
the ſenſe and meaning of every creature is ſo cleare, that none which
were capable to receive the word, ſhould be barred by perſecution from
hearing

hearing of it preached; and whereas our Saviour ſaith, *he that beleeveth not ſhall be damned*, had his intention beene, that ſuch as beleeved not ſhould be compelled thereto, doubtleſſe he would have ſaid ſo in expreſſe words upon this occaſion, rather then denounce their damnation, before he had firſt countenanced this ſo efficacious a way, as ſome alleadge, for to prevent it.

Object. *Anſw.*

To ſay the Apoſtles had then no civill power, and therefore they uſed it not, is not to the purpoſe, for if coercive power had been requiſite, our Saviour when he ſent them forth could as eaſily have ordered them to make uſe of it (in which caſe the Magiſtrate muſt have contributed his aſſiſtance) as to ſay, *heale the ſicke, clenſe leapers, raiſe the dead, and caſt out divels*, and although miracles were now quite ceaſed, yet it followes not that the civill ſword is given to the Church to cleer the Goſpels paſſage, for God will have no wayes or meanes made uſe of, but ſuch as he himſelfe preſcribed with expreſſe order only (not to perſecute but) to *depart from ſuch as would not heare it*; and what command finde we in the word of God which warrants us to impriſon, fine, baniſh, or put to death any one eſpecially amongſt Chriſtians for difference of opinion in Religion? many I know are ſo indulgent to be contented that every man might enjoy his own Conſcience quietly, but would not ſuffer them to have the free exerciſe of it, to diſcourſe or publiſh their opinions unto others, but hereof I finde no ground in Scripture; St. *Paul* ſayes, 1 *Cor.* 9.16. *A command is laid upon me, and wo is unto me if I preach not the Goſpel*; and our Saviour ſaid unto St. *Peter*, *Acts* 22 32. *When thou art converted ſtrengthen thy brethren:* So that the ſame God which commands me to trie the ſpirits, requires of me alſo that when I have found the truth, I ſhould not withold it *like a candle under a buſhell*, but teach it unto others. Marke 4. 21.

Object. *Anſw.*

Yea but ſome will ſay, God requires you to teach the Truth, but you teach Hereſie inſtead thereof, and therefore you ought to be perſecuted; my anſwer is, That I apprehend it to be the truth, and doe but diſcharge my conſcience, though it be erronious, deſiring to ſee the warrant for perſecuting ſuch as teach or publiſh erronious doctrines, which they in their owne opinion thought had been found: St. *Paul* in the name of the whole Miniſtery ſaid, 2 *Cor.* 5.20. *We are Ambaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us, we pray you in Chriſts ſtead, be ye reconciled to God:* And in another place, 2 *Cor.* 10.1.3.4. *I Paul my ſelfe beſeech you by the meekneſſe and gentleneſſe of Chriſt, for though we walke in the fleſh, we do not war after the fleſh, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of ſtrong holds:* So that *Paul* did war, but not according to the fleſh, he did not impriſon,

priſon, fine, nor cut off eares, his weapons were only ſpirituall, the power and might of Jeſus Chriſt; gentle exhortation and friendly admonition was the only meanes the Apoſtles practiſed, which prevailed then ſo mightily, and ought for that very reaſon to be ſtill continued, eſpecially ſince we cannot pretend any other commiſſion but what they had, unleſſe we will alſo ſeem to have had an other Goſpel.

I preſume no Proteſtant will deny, but that we are bound to endeavour the converſion of Papiſts, Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Hereticks, with all Infidels & misbeleevers unto the only true and ſaving faith in Jeſus Chriſt, this taske how little ſoever it be practiſed and thought on, will one day lye heavy upon all Chriſtians, who are no leſſe obliged thereto in their reſpective callings, then the Apoſtles were to *preach the Goſpel unto all Nations*, as was ſaid immediately before: Math. 28. 19. But as it is ſaid in the Parable, *Mark 3.27.* That *before one can enter into a ſtrong mans houſe and ſpoile his goods, he muſt firſt binde the ſtrong man: So before you can prevaile and reduce a Turk or Papiſt to the true reformed* Religion, you muſt firſt convince him in the errours of his owne, by the evidence of Scripture, and by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and this muſt be done by word of mouth, by writing or by both, as I rather conceive; firſt, by word of mouth, in that the Apoſtles were expreſſely ordered to go and teach all Nations, which neceſſarily inferres their preſence; and ſecondly, by writing, that it may be better diſperſed, and more freely enjoyed at all times, places and opportunities, beſides, that controverſies and buſineſſes of intricacie, are far better and more methodically ſtated and explaned in writing or in Print, then can poſſibly be delivered by word of mouth: The Poet ſaid,

Qui volet ingenio cedere rarus erit:

But farre more rarely ſhall you finde a man to give preheminence in point of his Religion, each thinking his owne to be the trueſt; this combat therefore muſt be fought out upon eaven ground, on equall termes, neither ſide muſt expect to have greater liberty of ſpeech, writing, Printing, or whatſoever elſe, then the other: But it will be again *Object.* objected, that if ſuch a tolleration as this be granted, the whole Kingdome will be quickly peſtered with a greater confuſion then that of Babel; to which I anſwer, *Anſw.* That the confuſion will not be ſuch as is ſo much imagined and feared, though it may ſeem greater at firſt then afterwards, when every man hath aſſociated himſelfe with ſuch as are of his owne opinion; and I crave leave to aske, if it be not a far greater confuſion both before God and man, and of more dangerous conſequence to the State, and their owne ſoules, for a thouſand men and women of ten ſeverall religions or opinions to aſſemble together every

Sunday in a Pariſh Church for feare of impriſonment, fines, baniſhment and worſe, or elſe that the ſame thouſand men and women being permitted freely, may meet in a peaceable manner at ten ſeverall places according to their reſpective differing opinions and religion: *Object.* But you will ſay that all theſe thouſand men and women were good Proteſtants, before this licentiouſneſſe of being what they would, was granted them: *Anſw.* I anſwer, That they could not poſſibly be good Proteſtants, but either were hypocrites and time ſervers, or elſe that they had happned by chance, or rather by courſe of the Country into a meer formall profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, whereof they were not able to render a reaſon if it had been demanded, & though they ſhould have ſtil continued as viſible members of the true Proteſtant Church, and participated in the outward means, their actions would have been never the more accepted of the Lord whileſt they had lived, nor their perſons at the day of judgement.

Secondly though this confuſion were yet greater then you imagine, I deſire to be informed, how it may be prevented without a far worſe inconvenience; firſt, in that I finde no expreſſe warrant, and leſſe then expreſſe will not be enough to abridge any man the exerciſe of his Religion, which makes him ſinne againſt his owne Conſcience, and ſo is a *doing of evill at leaſt, that good may come of it*, *Rom.* 3.8. And ſecondly, becauſe you are commanded to teach all Nations, which is impoſſible, unleſſe you could goe and live amongſt them, which you cannot reaſonably imagine or conceive, that people of different religions & opinions will permit you to remaine amongſt them who hold tenets, that when you have converted a conſiderable number, you may if you ſee poſſibility of ſtrength to compaſſe it by force of fire and ſword, compell the reſt to be of the ſame Religion, much leſſe will they come unto you for the ſame reaſons, as alſo in that you will not permit them within your Juriſdiction to make profeſſion of their Religion, whereof they have as good opinion as you can poſſibly have of yours, and though perhaps they might be contented (not that they are doubtfull of their owne, but in hopes it may be to make a Proſelite of you, or out of an ingenious diſpoſition and deſire to comply with you, who ſeem ſo ſolicitous of their ſalvation) to hear what you alledge, why they ſhould become good Proteſtants, yet you cannot in reaſon expect, or in equity require, that they ſhould not have as ample priviledge as your ſelfe, to deliver their mindes freely both in ſpeech and writing.

We know that in moſt Kingdoms there are ſeverall Courts of Juſtice, which having different priviledges and juriſdictions, when any man hath cauſe to commence a Suite, he firſt informes himſelfe in which he may likelieſt finde greateſt favour of equity and juſtice, but if his adverſary gaine advantage, and force him to a triall in ſuch a Court, as according to the conſtitution thereof, he could not have ſo favourable triall as in another; the party thus agrieved forthwith appeals from that where he was overthrowne unto another, never reſting or ſubmitting, if it may be otherwiſe avoided, untill he apprehend himſelfe, to have been equally proceeded with; and yet the triall of Religion muſt ſtill be more preciſe and equitable, in that it muſt be voluntary on both ſides.

Suppoſe then that a man have a controverſie with another about land, houſes, money, merchandiſe, or what ever earthly luggage elſe, of a conſiderable valuation, is any ſo ſimple as to think that ſuch a one even whileſt he is confident of his owne right and title, will give it up unto his adverſary upon entreaty, menacies, or compulſion, and that willingly? Is it not then a greater abſurdity and incongruity of ſenſe to thinke that a man ſhould reſt contented willingly to be forced againſt his will? nay is it not a meer impoſſibility, as abſolute as the ſubſiſtance of contrarieties? can a man in one & the ſame reſpect, about the ſelf ſame thing, and at ſame time too, be both willing and yet unwilling? can he at ſame time think he hath juſt cauſe to keep poſſeſſion of ſuch land or moveables, and yet think he ought to render up poſſeſſion of them? how much more tenacious may we juſtly preſume every man to be of his religion, which he thinks to be the only true one? and how much more backward and unwilling will every one be that makes conſcience to part from his faith, whereby he expects not ſome momentary profit and advantage, but his wel-being and ſalvation unto eternity? And if being confident in mine owne Religion, I cannot poſſibly be brought to thinke otherwiſe by force, what ever violence make me profeſſe outwardly to the contrary, then will it be neceſſary to proceed by fair meanes, that all reaſons and inducements being aledged with equall liberty and freedome on both ſides, the whole controverſie may be fully ſtated and underſtood to the ſelf-conviction of hereſie and errour, which if other Nations of different Religions may not be permitted, and by that means freely declare and expreſſe the grounds whereon they built their faith, how falſe ſoever they be, they cannot poſſibly be convinced thereof, but will be ſo much more hardned in their opinions, conceiving them the ſounder, by how much you reſtrain the publiſhing thereof, and when they ſee you intend to perſecute them, denying an equall and indifferent triall, they will be gone again with a far more prejudiciall conceit of the Proteſtant Religion then they had before, if you detaine them perforce, you do contrary to St.

Pauls doctrine, 1 *Cor*.7.15. who gave order that even *the unbeleeving wife might depart, if ſhe would depart*, and beſides affright all ſuch as hear of it, from ever comming to you afterwards.

te. Thus does it appeare moſt evidently, that if you will continue your rules and maximes of perſecution, ~~beſides~~ the unwarrantableneſſe thereof, you cannot reaſonably conceive a poſſibility to diſcharge our Saviours aforeſaid Commiſſion, with ſundry other Scriptures for teachching of all Nations.

Beſides, we finde how amongſt other directions which our Saviour gave his ſeventy Diſciples at their miſſion, *Luke* 10 5.6. He bids them, That *into whatſoever houſe they enter, they firſt ſay, Peace be to that houſe, and that if the ſon of peace be there, their peace ſhall reſt upon it, if not, it ſhall*
te. *returne to them againe*: and by this inſtruction ſurely we may obſerve, our Saviour did not intend, that his Diſciples whileſt they went about preaching the Goſpel ſhould crie Peace, Peace, that they might more ſecurely inſtill into their Proſelites a doctrine of war and perſecution, and ſuch Chriſtian States and Churches as do ſince practiſe it, go quite oppoſite to that command of our Saviours, and his Diſciples practiſe, wherein we are ſo much more inexcuſable, in that he declared himſelfe ſo plainly, that his meaning was, the Doctrine of Peace ſhould be prof-
.10. fered to all, and that if they and it were not received, *Their peace ſhould returne to them againe*, and they only *ſhake of the duſt from their feet as a*
:6.11 *witneſſe againſt them at the day of judgement*; as if he had ſaid ſo on pur-
:9.5. poſe, leſt they meeting with ſuch as would not receive them and their peace, ſhould be to ſeek what further courſe to take, and thinke their labour loſt, unleſſe they had compelled them to receive both whether they would or no.

But notwithſtanding our Saviours charging his Apoſtles to *teach all Nations*, *Matth*.28.19. And St. *Pauls* ſaying, *Rom*.10.17. That *faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God*; requiring *Timothy* to *be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, 2 *Tim*.4.2. The Inquiſitors are ready to ſay with the young man in the Goſpel, *Matth*.19.20. *All theſe*
ſt. *things have we done*: We have preached and ſuch will not heare us, ſome that heare will not beleeve us, and ſuch as beleeve us, will not live ac-
v. cordingly, what ſhall we do with ſuch? I anſwer, this is no more then St. *Paul* foretold, when he ſaid, 2 *Tim*.2. 3,4,5. *The time will come when they will not endure ſound doctrine, but after their owne luſts ſhall they heap to themſelves teachers, having itching eares, and they ſhall turne away their ears from the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables, but watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, doe the work of an Evangeliſt, make full proofe of thy miniſtery*: v. 2. *Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long ſuffering and doctrine*:

doctrine: This averſeneſſe to the ſaving truth which St. *Paul* propheſied of, was not ſo much to be diſcovered in the time of *Timothy*, as afterwards in ſucceeding ages; and St. *Pauls* directions in that behalfe to be applied to all Miniſters ſucceſſively: To the Romans he ſaith, *Rom.* 10.14. concerning his brethren the Jews, *How ſhall they beleeve in him of whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they heare without a Preacher?* But if he had lived in theſe dayes, *Paul* himſelfe muſt have been taught to ſay, Do you expect they ſhould goe to Church unleſſe you whip them thither? and how ſhall they beleeve unleſſe you beat it into them? This had been as eaſie for St. *Paul* to have preſcribed in thoſe times had it been but as good doctrine, however the practiſe of ſome Chriſtian Countries is ſo contrary to it, that more care and watchfulneſſe is uſed, that Inquiſitors be circumſpect and diligent to require conformity of the outward man, then that the word be ſincerely taught, or the Sacraments adminiſtred according to their due ſimplicity and purity, to the comfort and edifying of the inward man; theſe may make a great ſhew and bravery for the preſent, ſurpaſſing in number like the Nationall Church of the Jews when it was moſt populous, but being ſuch ſpurious Chriſtians chiefly as are begot by their illegall Inquiſition, and not nouriſhed by the *ſincere milke of the word,* 1 *Pet.* 2.2. they are never like to grow up and encreaſe in godlineſſe untill they become perfect men in Chriſt Jeſus.

St. *Paul* writing to the Romans about meats which were lawfull to be eaten, by ſuch as beleeved they might eat them, preſcribes notwithſtanding to forbeare, rather then offend a weake brother, but withall ſayes, *Rom.* 14.22,23. *Happy is he that condemneth not himſelfe in that thing which he alloweth, and he that doubteth is damned if he eateth, becauſe he eateth not of faith, for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* And in the ſame Chapter, verſ. 5. he ſaies, *One man eſteemeth one day above another, and another eſteemeth every day alike, let every man be fully perſwaded in his owne minde;* according to which doctrine, a mans owne conſcience was both primarily and laſtly to be reſolved fully before he eat or dranke, whether he keep holy-daies or no, and not the Inquiſition houſe or Biſhops court: If eating with a doubting conſcience only be ſinne, what is it in ſuch as eat contrary to their conſcience? how much greater ſin is it in ſuch as goe to Church, or are preſent at worſhipping of God in ſuch a manner as they themſelves hold to be flat Idolatry; and then how comparatively greater is their ſin that force others to doe that which damnes themſelves, ſo much againſt their owne wills and diſpoſitions? But perhaps it will be objected, that they are not forced, but *Ob*
may chuſe whether they will come to Church or no, ſo they pay one

Anſw. third part of their revenues or ſome eaſier fine : To which I anſwer, That ſuch fines, impriſonment, or leſſer puniſhments whatſoever are juſtly to be accounted force, and that in the higheſt nature, when a man will rather reſolve to hazard the loſſe of his own ſoule in going to Church with a double conſcience, according to his owne tenets and opinion, then to ſubmit to the ſaid fines, impriſonment or other puniſhments; I need ſay no more then ſuch going to Church is not of faith, but of feare, and faith comes by hearing, not by frighting.

Object. But it will be againe objected, That the Apoſtles had no power or authority from the civill Magiſtrate to render men obedient unto their doctrine in a compulſive way, otherwiſe they would in likelihood have made uſe of it, there being no ſuch probable meanes under heaven as ſuch imagine, to ſettle an uniformity, as fining, impriſoning, baniſhing, cutting off eares, and heads too, if they ſee fit; whereto I anſwer, *Anſw.* That the Apoſtles preaching, baptizing, and doing miracles, were all contrary to the authority and expreſſe commands of civill Magiſtrates, and if they had had but equall warrant from their Maſter, having gained ſuch multitudes of converts as our Saviour was fain to feed miraculouſly at one time, about five thouſand of them, all men, beſides women and children; at another time foure thouſand men, beſides women and children, *Matth.* 14.24. and 15.38. And in the Acts it is ſaid, *Act.* 2.41. That through *Peters* preaching, *three thouſand ſoules were added to them in one day*, we cannot juſtly thinke but having once gained ſo many Luke 3. 12.14. Act.10. in the former part. Proſelites, and amongſt thoſe were ſouldiers, to take leaders and commanders off, they had through their numbers both means and reaſon, rather to encourage them in adventuring to ſettle, or at leaſt to lay ſome ground-worke of their coercive diſcipline, then with ſuch boldneſſe at firſt to travell from place to place, from one City to another, preaching Chriſt Jeſus undauntedly, when there was not ſo much as one to countenance and backe them againſt the civill Magiſtrate, or perſecution of the common people.

Why did the Apoſtles baptiſe or teach in the name of Jeſus, being expreſſely commanded by the civill Magiſtrate to the contrary? this diſobedience and offending of the higher powers had beene a ſin in them, unleſſe our Saviour had given them expreſſe commiſſion to teach all Nations, and if coercive power had been as warrantable, and more likely means to propagate the Goſpel, the Apoſtles were as much to blame in that they did not uſe it, as they ſhould have been if they had not preached the Goſpel at all; for Chriſt that commanded them the end, muſt needs underſtand the means thereto conducing to be comprehended in the ſame commiſſion; neither could they be ſaid to want power for putting the meanes in execution, ſo long as they had the gift of working miracles; which doubtleſſe they alſo practiſed ſo often as they had the divine Oracle for warrant; and of this nature was *Peters* puniſhing *Ananias and Saphira with ſudden death*, becauſe they had Acts 5.5. 10. dedicated a certain poſſeſſion unto the Lord, and afterwards ſought to rob his Saints of part thereof; *Paul* likewiſe, Chap.13.11. ſtruck *Elimas* the ſorcerer blinde, becauſe *he ſought to turn away Paulus Sergius the Deputy his heart from the faith*: *And his delivering of Himeneus and Alexander unto Sathan that they might learne not to blaſpheme*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. I ſuppoſe may be underſtood in the ſame manner. Our Saviour having occaſion to make uſe of an Aſſe that the Propheſie in *Zachariah* might be fulfilled, *Zach.*9.9. ſent two of his Diſciples to the village *Beſphage* to fetch one, giving them no other inſtructions, but that if any body ſaid ought unto them, they ſhould reply, *That the Lord had need of it*, *Matth.*21.3. Even ſo might the Apoſtles have done when they had met with obſtinate people that would not receive their Goſpel (eſpecially the Jews which the Roman Magiſtrate in likelihood regarded little whether they were Jews or Chriſtians) it had been but ſending for a Centurian, or other officer of juſtice with a little ticket, that *Domino opus eſt*, no body ſhould have been able to reſiſt their will; as it is ſaid in the Romans, *Rom.*9.19. the proudeſt *Pharaoh* muſt have ſubmitted, and all his Subjects been willing to aſſiſt, beſides legions of Angels Math.26. 53. which would have been in readineſſe if God had pleaſed to warrant them in ſuch a courſe.

And whereas in the Scripture before alledged, it is ſaid, *Acts* 2.41. That *three thouſand ſoules were added to the Church that day*; the Text declares alſo, that *they which gladly received the word were baptiſed*, Note. inſinuating, that they which doe not willingly receive the word, ought not to be baptiſed, much leſſe be forceibly baptiſed; or being firſt baptiſed in their infancie when good hopes were conceived of them, be afterwards compelled to receive the word, and participate in the ordinances when their unwillingneſſe is ſo well known, and this to be the caſe of all ſuch Chriſtians as are forced into a Religion: But how many ſouls ſoever were added to the Church at *Peters* preaching, *Acts* 2.47. and whereas it is ſaid, That *the Lord added daily to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved*, it cannot be ſaid ſo in ſuch Countries where the Inquiſition ruleth, or people are forced to goe to Church upon penalties how ſmall ſoever, there is neither adding to the Church, nor falling from, they are one and all, all of the Church, or all out of the Church, and which of the two is likelieſt I am ſorry to conſider.

What people under heaven can boaſt of an outward unity, and ſo generall a uniformity as the Papiſts at this day, moſt eminently glorious if it were to be contemplated according to humane wiſdome, or beheld with the eye of fleſh? But do not Proteſtant Writers affirme of them, that they would fall into as many peeces and opinions amongſt themſelves,as all other Chriſtians have in the whole world beſides, if the yoke of their Inquiſition bondage were but broken? Nay do not all Proteſtants conclude that even ſuch a hodge podge of uniformity cannot be compaſſed without an Eccleſiaſticall Sovereignty? and that this Eccleſiaſticall Sovereignty hath ſuch inbred corruptions and temptations in it ſelfe as breeds a propenſity, little leſſe then unavoidably degenerating into tyranny? and that tyranny over the minde to be ſeventy ſeven times worſe, then that which civill Magiſtrates exerciſe upon the body or eſtate? nay muſt it not needs follow by conſequence undeniable,that if there were as good ground in Scripture for ſpirituall Sovereignty as there is for temporall, that this ſpirituall Sovereignty ought to be reduced to Monarchy, as the beſt and only government to ſettle uniformity? and would not this Pope and ſpirituall Monarch upon the ſame grounds have a better claim and title to all the world, becauſe eccleſiaſticall and ſpirituall forſooth, then any King or Emperour hath to his owne Dominions? All theſe groſſe abſurdities (which we ſo much condemne in the Pope of *Rome*, for the myſtery of iniquity aimes at no leſſe then all the world, their ground-worke and proceedings conclude as much, though yet it ſpeakes not plaine) will inevitably follow the endeavouring to ſettle a uniformity in the Church, or ſuch tenets as require a neceſſity of coercive power to be executed on the body or eſtate in matters meerly of Religion.

Let all Church governments be but brought to a triall, ſee what the Pope can ſay, Epiſcopacie, Presbyterie, or any other that ſtands for compulſive juriſdiction over goods or perſon, and though they mince it never ſo finely, ſpeake never ſo fairly, and each of them have not really in it ſelfe an equall proportion of inbred putrifaction,tending unto ſpirituall tyranny,yet if they be well examined,though in their negatives one may condemn the other,for their affirmatives whatſoever ſhall be alledged by any one will be acknowledged the doctrine and principles of all the reſt, and each of them for the matter, though not equally,upon moſt palpable conſequence be found tending and endeavouring a command and dominion over the faith and conſciences of men, which St. *Paul* diſclaimed, 2 *Cor.* 1.24. And when *James* and *John* the ſons of *Zebedee* deſired to ſit on our Saviours right hand,and the other on his left in glory, he told them, That the Princes of *the Gentiles doe exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe authority over*

over them, but it ſhall not be ſo among you: And when he was deſired only to ſpeake a powerfull word for execution of civill juriſdiction, that an inheritance might be devided rightly betwixt two brothers, he reprehends the party, ſaying, Man, who made me a judge or devider over you, *Luke* 12.13,14. And if the Apoſtles, and their lawfull ſucceſſors in the Miniſtery, may not exerciſe dominion nor authority, what ever their minds were, their perſecution would want a ſting, *Mat.* 20.25,26.

God will not have men perſecuted for matter of Religion, leſt under colour thereof, the perſecuting of his deareſt Saints ſhould ſeeme more juſtifiable: But you will ſay, why does he then permit the civill Magiſtrates to put men to death, by which proceeding innocent and guiltleſſe perſons have often ſuffered? I anſwer, how it is true that through the iniquity of ſome Countries Lawes, and malice or corruption of wicked people, innocent and ſimple men have too too often been condemned and put to death: But firſt, it is obvious to every ones capacity, how the crimes and offences for which men ſuffer under civill Magiſtrates, are by moſt Nations concurrently agreed upon to deſerve death. Secondly, ſuch delinquencies are more eaſily to be proved againſt the malefactors, and in matters of difficulty, as to diſcover whether a Woman had committed adultery, the Lord had appointed a miraculous way of triall, and called it *The law of jealouſies*, *Exod.* 5.12. which was, that if the ſpirit of jealouſie had poſſeſſed the husband, the Prieſt giving the wife a bitter water to drinke (in ſuch manner as is related in the Story) her thigh ſhould rot, and belly burſt if ſhe were guilty, but do her no hurt at all in caſe of innocencie; from whence may be inferred, that the putting any man to death, or puniſhing by civill Magiſtrates without undeniable proofe and witneſſes, cannot be juſtified or excuſed without a miracle; how much more in matters of Religion, where there is no law of Gods making that commands it, and ſeldome righteous teſtimonies that can be produced to prove it? Thirdly, it lay in the malefactors power not to have committed ſuch crimes and outrages; and laſt of all, civill Magiſtrates have the Scripture for a rule what delinquents they may put to death, and how far they may proceed in fining: but for matter of Religion it is quite otherwiſe; for firſt, no man is of opinion that another deſerves to be perſecuted and put to death, only, becauſe he is of the ſame Religion which himſelfe is of, ſince therein he ſhould condemne himſelfe: Secondly, if a man will himſelfe, you cannot tell what Religion he is of, becauſe whatever he is driven to make profeſſion of, it is the heart that in this reſpect, either juſtifies or condemnes: Thirdly, though a man would uſe all the means which can be preſcribed him, and ſhould even himſelfe be contented, and deſire that ſuch a Religion were the true one, yet it is not in his power to thinke ſo, and conſequently to be of the ſame in heart, untill his reaſon and underſtanding be convinced thereof: And laſt of all, there is no warrant for perſecution in the Scripture, if there were, we might boldly ſay, *fiat juſtitia ruat Cœlum*, God will beare us out in whatſoever we do by his commandement, and as ſevere an account will he require at the dreadfull day of judgement, for all ſuch fining, impriſoning, mutilating, and putting to death, eſpecially of his Saints, and other conſcientious people, as have been practiſed without it.

3.4. We are bid in the Scripture to *come out of the world, and ſeparate our*
6. *ſelves from the wicked, leſt we partake of their judgements*, and the like; but inſtead of conforming hereunto, ſuch as will not enter into Covenant, ſuch as will not goe to Church and receive the Communion with us, we endeavour to compell them to it by pecuniary or corporall puniſhments, which is as much as poſſible to withſtand and hinder ſuch a ſeparation: for inſtead of preaching unto the true Beleevers, according unto St. *Pauls* doctrine, that *they ſhould ſeparate themſelves*, and not communicate with notorious ſinners, we quite contrary turne our ſpeech and power too, towards Papiſts, Blaſphemers, Traitors, and the mixt multitude in generall, forcing them and the true Beleevers to aſſemble and communicate together, to have one Faith, one Baptiſme, one Church, and whether it may involve us in one doome, I leave to others to determine, and at preſent only advertiſe, that, from hence ariſes a double inconvenience, one to our ſelves by communicating with Atheiſts, Papiſts, Traitors, Blaſphemers and Reprobates of all ſorts, from whom we are commanded by St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to *Timothy*, 2 *Tim*.3.5. to *turne away*, whileſt we notwithſtanding force them whether they will or no, to joyne with us in the moſt ſacred Ordinances of God: the other inconvenience is to thoſe that are ſo forced, by making of them hypocrites and time-ſervers, ſo much worſe then they were before, or as our Saviour ſaith, *Matth*.23.15. *Two times more the children of the divell*, when perhaps what they would have done of their owne good will, though erronious, might have been in part excuſed by ignorance, and a good intention, as St. *Paul* did when he perſecuted the Church of God, 1 *Tim*.1.13. and ſo far are we from building up the myſticall body of Chriſt by compelling the perſonall preſence of Papiſts, and ſuch like, at our ſpirituall exerciſes, that it only hardens them ſo much more, and alienates their mindes ſo much futher from being wrought upon, by ſuch arguments as are alledged from reaſon or from Scripture.

In a Sermon preached before the Houſe of Commons the 27. of December, 1643. I finde theſe words, *It feareth me that a great part of the people of this land are ſtill fond of a formall ſervice, and a proud Prelacie*; and yet the Covenant which apparently profeſſes a finall extirpation of them both, had found ſuch acceptance, that I beleeve there is ſcarce one man in a hundred throughout all *London* but hath ſubſcribed to it; however I am fully of the ſame opinion, and verily conceive that from the carriage and effect of this buſineſſe only, it may cleerly be obſerved, how eaſily multitudes of men will permit ſhipwracke to be made of their ſoules, and conſequently how incongruous and dangerous a way of proceeding it is, to joyne profit or preferment, hopes or feares, threats or force to worke upon the conſcience; for although the Covenant hath paſſed thus currantly, I finde notwithſtanding by diſcourſe that the greateſt part of people are little weaned from the preſent Service Booke, and wiſh better to Epiſcopacie a little reformed, I meane the rigour of it only, with ſome ſmall ſuperfluities of the Lordlineſſe, and that it ſhould ſtill remain Dioceſan, rather then Presbyteriall, or any other Church government whatſoever; but for ſuch as hold with independencie how their ſtomacks can throughly digeſt the Covenant, I cannot any wayes imagine.

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I know that much is ſaid and done in many places in behalfe of uniformity, a Nationall Church and Covenant; which things indeed carry *a great ſhew of wiſdome in wil-worſhip*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Col*.3.23. were it not that our Saviour told us; That *in vaine they worſhip him, teaching for doctrines, the commandements of men*, *Matth*.15.9.

But wherefore ſuch labouring in vaine, and ſtriving againſt the ſtreame to obtaine a ſuperficies, and falſe luſtre of a Nationall Church? Doe we thinke that Gods ſalvation is alſo Nationall? Surely if the ſeven thouſand which *never bowed knee to Baal*, had been in a body, *Eliah* would have knowne them better; we ſee indeed that they have all the face or ſhew of Mahumetans in *Turkie*, Papiſts in *Spaine*, and Lutherans in *Germany*, but this is the worke of man and not of God; and though the power of fleſh is ſuch to keep the purity and ſaving knowledge of the Goſpel from them, they will be ſure enough to riſe up in judgement, and with their uncircumciſed hearts, and law of nature, condemne the tyranny of thoſe that kept it from them. And they alledge alſo the great reformations wrought by *Ataxerxes*, *Ezra* 7.23. (and other good Kings under the the Law) who ſaid, *Whatſoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the houſe of the God of heaven*; and many ſtill crie out aloud upon a reformation of Religion, or building up the myſticall Temple under the Goſpel, after the

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25. ſame manner by fire and ſword, never remembring, that there was ex-
26. preſſe order and direction from God himſelfe concerning every thing
about the firſt Temple, *not a pin excepted*, whereas many of latter times,
.5. out of greater eagerneſſe to have the worke done, then care and con-
27. ſideration to the well doing, have put their owne commandment a-
foot inſtead of Gods, requiring judgement to be executed ſpeedily up-
on them that diſobeyed, *whether it were to death or to baniſhment, to con-
fiſcation of goods or impriſonment*, with as much confidence, as though
.26. the Prophet *Ezra* had purpoſely recorded it, not ſo much that God
might be glorified in *Artaxerxes* great carefulneſſe, and juſt com-
mands for beautifying of his Temple, as to countenance their owne
wil-worſhip and inventions.

But did God ever ſay to any Chriſtian people as he did to *Abraham*, *Gen.*17.8. I will give *unto thee and thy ſeed thy neighbours Country*, whoſe inhabitants were without the Covenant of workes, for an everlaſting poſſeſſion? How much leſſe does God give thee the confiſcation of thy brothers eſtate, whom thou wilt perhaps acknowledge to be within, and canſt not poſſibly prove to be without the covenant of Grace, becauſe he differs from thee in opinion, or ſome caſes of conſcience only? Did God ever ſay to Chriſtians as he did to *Abraham*, v. 14. *The uncircumciſed man-childe ſhall be cut off from his people?* If Chriſtians have any command equivolent hereunto, why is it not impartially put in execution? If they have not, who ſhall anſwer for ſuch as have beene perſecuted or put to death without it? But as whatſoever God hath commanded ſhould be punctually done; ſo what God hath not commanded, ought not to be done: the adding to in Deuteronomy, *Deut.* 12.32. and *Johns* Revelation, *Rev.*22.18. is as much forbidden, as the taking from it; and *Salomon* ſayes, *Prov.*30 6. *Adde thou not unto the words of God, leſt he reprove thee, and thou be found liar.* I am confident it cannot be denied, but that the endeavouring and practice of coercive power to ſway the conſcience in any kinde, is for the moſt part either expreſſively, or by undeniable conſequence quite contrary to the principall intention and letter throughout the whole Scripture, in which reſpect if there were ſome few texts or paſſages which might ſeem to colour it, yet they ought to be ſo much more deliberately conſidered and pondered on for the honour we owe to Gods truth, and charity to our neghbour.

In *Matthews* Goſpel cap. 28.20. it is ſaid, *Teach them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you*; But I doe not finde perſecution to have been expreſſely commanded in any place of the Goſpel:
or.14. and whereas ſome would infer it from the words, *Let all things be done
decently*

decently and in order, as by the coherence with the whole Chapter it appeares plainly to relate only unto the orderly proceeding & behaviour in their aſſemblies or publick meetings; ſo it poſſibly cannot be made appear from hence, that there is, or ought to be a power to perſecute or put to death, for then this concluſion would follow, that the Church of Corinth had commiſſion given them to put a man to death only for indecencie, or for having done any thing which was unſeemly or out of order; but this would be both a great abſurdity, injuſtice and blaſphemy to affirme; againe, Let all things be done decently and in order cannot poſſibly ſignifie, or imply a power or order of fining, impriſoning, and putting to death, unleſſe you will ſay, that the Apoſtles, Diſciples, and all Chriſtian Churches, eſpecially that of Corinth had the ſame power, and then you muſt either ſay that there was no delinquencie to proceed againſt in a coercive way, which is notoriouſly falſe, or elſe you muſt condemn them all, becauſe they did not practiſe it at any time; for as the precept or command was given to the Church and Saints of Corinth, ſo *Pauls* meaning and intention muſt needs be, that they of all others ſhould obſerve and practiſe it fully and punctually in all things that it might have been a preſident to others: and laſtly, that the commiſſion of decencie and order in all things was given unto the Church of Corinth, is plaine, ſince the whole Epiſtle is directed to them particularly, and by name, but it was written for inſtruction, and concerned equally all the Diſciples & Churches of Chriſt, both then living, and us, as S. *Paul* ſaies, *On whom the ends of the world are come:* now it is groſſe and prepoſterous to think or ſay, that *Paul* gave the Church of Corinth ſuch commiſſion, that is, an order or authority to uſe coercive power for the better prevailing that all things might be done decently and in order, becauſe he knew they wanted, and could not have the aſſiſtance of the civill Magiſtrate thereunto; and if the coercive was not intended to them, much leſſe to future Churches, who have only received the ſame commiſſion after ſo many reverſions, and cannot pretend that the words thereof ſhould have a different or larger ſignification in our favour, then was meant unto the Corinthians, unto whom it was immediately directed; and we may well preſume that if it had ſignified a compulſive or Lordly juriſdiction, to have been put in execution by Chriſtian Churches or Common-wealths in after ages, which cannot be becauſe of ſo many abſurd conſequences which follow thereupon, yet *dato & non conceſſo*, in ſuch caſe I ſay, the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, though they themſelves had wanted coercive meanes and power, would notwithſtanding infallibly have left ſome ground or warrant inſerted in the letter of the Goſpel, to be con-

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veyed ſucceſſively unto poſterity, for their better direction in a buſineſſe of ſuch concernment, and ſo great obſcurity in that ſenſe which is objected; but if the point be intricate or dubious, the ſafeſt way is to proceed no further then we have a precept or preſident of our Saviour or his Apoſtles to warrant us, eſpecially in matters of ſo high a nature, as are the worſhip and ſervice of God Almighty, the Diſcipline of his Houſe, and tender conſciences of his deareſt Saints.

1 Tim. 3. In the Goſpel we meet with *Biſhops, a Preſbytery, Elders, Deacons,*
12. 4.14. *Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Diſciples, Prophets, ſtrange tongues,* and *Interpre-*
Tit.1.5. *ters of tongues, Elders that rule well, and labour in the Miniſtery*, ſome to
1 Tim.3.8 *take care of poore widowes,* others *for exhortation, Paſtors, Teachers for per-*
5.17. *fecting of the Saints, for the worke of the Miniſtery, for the edifying of the*
Act 6. beginning. *body of Chriſt untill we all come in the unity of the faith*, as St. *Paul* ſayes:
Luke 10. But what ſpirit of truth doe we ever meet with which ſaies that any of
123. theſe were given for the corporall impriſoning, baniſhing, or putting
1 Cor.12. to death the body of Chriſt, which are his Saints, as of latter times
10. too too often hath beene practiſed? where finde wee in the Goſpel
Eph 4.11, 12,13. order or authority to convent, accuſe and arraigne men with power
Rom.12.8 of life and death for matters of religion or opinion only? this is but
traditionall, and far ſhort from being Cannonicall and Chriſtian; it is
true we finde here a *precept* for endeavouring to accompliſh a unity of
faith in the Saints, or the Saints in the unity of faith, but this was nei-
ther univerſall nor nationall unity, as appeares afterwards, where he
ſayes unto the ſame Epheſians, *Walke not as other Gentiles walke in the*
Verſe 17. *vanity of their mindes,* much leſſe was any conſtraint or compulſion or-
dered or intended to be uſed, for then both they and all other Chriſtian
Churches had been bound to make all others walke with them in unity
of faith, or to walke unto the gallowes; and the Apoſtles admonition
in ſuch caſe would have been both more proper and effectuall which
the Epheſians, as ſuch Church commanders pretend, if he had ſaid,
Walke not as other Gentiles, who becauſe they will not walke with
you in unity of Religion, and uniformity of diſcipline, are deſervedly
compelled to walke unto the gallowes.

Hath it not often been inſtilled into the eares of Princes, as *Haman* the great favourite did unto King *Ahaſuerus* concerning the Jewes Gods people, who were then afflicted in captivity, and ſo abjectly contemptible, that they could not poſſibly be dangerous to the State? and yet proud *Haman*, *Eſther* 3.8,9. &c. only becauſe a conſciencious *Mordecai* was ſcrupulous and could not bow and doe reverence to him as the King commanded, informed his Majeſty that there was *a certaine people ſcattered abroad, and diſperſed into all Provinces of his Kingdome,*

dome, whoſe lawes were divers from all people, neither kept they the Kings lawes, and therefore it was not for the Kings profit to ſuffer them; in which reſpect, if it pleaſed his Majeſty that letters might be writ for their deſtruction, *he promiſed to pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver into the Kings treaſurie*; hereupon the King conſented to the Edict, that *all of them men, women and children ſhould be maſſacred*, and for *Hamans* good counſell, remitted the ten thouſand talents of ſilver, and gave him the poore Jews to boot, to be murdered in ſuch a manner as his cruelty could beſt contrive: Oh how often hath this wicked advice of *Haman* been practiſed upon Gods beſt people in all parts of Chriſtendome? for there are Puritanes both in *Spaine* and *Italy*, in greater numbers then ever appeared in *England* before this preſent Parliament, and permitted to meet and walke peaceably up and downe the ſtreets together, more numerous then ever yet I ſaw in *London*, may it, in Gods time, be ſpoken to the greater humbling, then ſhame of this Nation and all Proteſtants beſides.

But how often thinke we may it have been ſuggeſted unto our Gracious Sovereignes, and inſinuated unto the people, how diſſerviceable and dangerous the Puritanes were unto the State? ſurely not ſeldome, or elſe they would never have reduced ſo many thouſands of them into a neceſſity of leaving the Land, and carry with them their gifts, arts, and manufactures into other Countries, to the greateſt detriment of this Common-wealth, and yet far greater loſſe and judgement unto Gods Church in *England*: But what hath been the end of the grand Politicians and Perſecuters? may it not be obſerved, that like *Haman* who was hanged on the gallowes, which he himſelfe had cauſed to be ſet up for *Mordecai*, ſo many, nay, very many of the greateſt that ever yet appeared enemies unto Gods people, have been taken in their own nets, and felt thoſe penalties and proceedings, which they firſt invented and practiſed upon others? And as that villanous deſigne of *Hamans*, *Eſt.* 8.8. through Gods providence proved ſo much more ſucceſſefull unto the Jewes; in like manner may the ſun-ſhine of Gods love have beene ſeene to breake out ſtill more bright and comfortable towards ſuch as in all times have been reproached for Puritanes, I may not ſay for any deſerts or works of theirs, but through Gods moſt gracious providence, which as *Mordecai* foretold to *Eſther*, cap. 4. 14. hath wrought enlargement and deliverance to them, though they perhaps may be ſaid to have endeavoured it, not without many weakneſſes and failings.

But ſince God both can and will finiſh his owne great work of Reformation in ſpight of all oppoſition, *Let ſuch as thinke they ſtand take* 1 Cor. 10. *heed leſt they fall*, and may it be far from any of Gods good ſervants to 12.

imagine *Note.*

imagine that God delivered them out of perſecution to the end they
.28, might be inabled to perſecute their brethren : Perſecution is a ſinne,
a ſigne of the Church malignant, and no degree thereof diſpenſable by
Popery, Epiſcopacie, or Presbytery, neither may God be thought to
be the author of it, or countenance it further then he doth other ſinnes
by barely permitting them in wrath and judgement to chaſtiſe and
ſcourge a ſinfull people, the whole Kingdome did acknowledge it
whileſt Popery domineered, the greateſt part are weary of it in Prela-
cie; O let Presbytery be forewarned thereby, and know that they
have the ſame temptation which was common to both the other Go-
t. 10. vernments, and wherein they miſcarried. The Jewes came out with
ſwords and ſtaves to apprehend our Saviour, but God never bleſſed
them in it, nor ſanctified them ſince to bring men in, and ~~made~~ profeſ-
ſion of the Goſpel. Let all the reaſons, grounds and principles for a
coercive power and diſcipline in matter of Religion be produced,
and it will moſt evidently appeare how Presbytery cannot poſſibly al-
ledge more, or better then what the Papacie and Prelacie firſt brought
to light, all having the ſelf ſame inbred matter and corruption in them,
which infallibly, though not with equal poſting, inclines them natural-
ly to degenerate into tyranny & perſecution, and the work which they
all fight againſt, being of God, *cannot poſſibly be overthrowne*, but will
5. 39. notwithſtanding be brought about to the greater miſery and confuſion
of all ſuch, who if they would make ſtrickt enquiry with an upright
heart into the nature of ſuch government, could not likely chuſe, ha-
ving felt or underſtood the bondage which this Kingdome hath already
twice ſuffered under it, but ſee the malignant poyſon and putrifaction
which is bred and lyes lurking within the bowells thereof, and be
weary of it; yet I forbeare to judge, and in all meekneſſe beſeech that
they would be as backwards in judging others.

The Italians have a Proverbe that whoſoever goes beyond his commiſſion muſt run the hazard of it for his owne account; but for ſuch who have no commiſſion at all, and yet take away the liberty, livelihood, limbs and lives of their Chriſtian brethren, and that for meere matter of conſcience only, cannot amount to leſſe then the ſhedding of innocent blould, that crying ſinne, for which the Jewes remain ſtill ſcattered upon the face of the earth untill this day : But have the Jews been thus afflicted for putting Chriſt to death, and a few of Gods Prophets only, how exceſſive then will be the torments of ſuch Chriſtian States which have perſecutedand put to death thouſands of Chriſtians for every ſingle ſoule which was executed by the Jews, and that principally becauſe ſuch Chriſtians differed from them onely in opinion,

when if they had been Turkes or Pagans they might likely have eſcaped?
But you will ſay perhaps, that the Jews put Chriſt to death the *Obj*
ranſome and Saviour of the whole world: I anſwer, That they knew *An*
him not to be Chriſt, and that the Jewes had then better grounds and
warrant to *put a blaſphemer to death*, and *ſuch they accounted Jeſus*, then Lev.
Chriſtians have now: Secondly, I anſwer, That when *Joſeph* perceived 16.
that his brethren were troubled in minde and grieved for having Matt
ſold him into ſlavery, making himſelfe knowne, bid them not be grieved 65.
or angry with themſelves, for that *God had ſent him before into Egypt* Gen.
to preſerve their lives: and our Saviour after they had laid hands on him, 3.5.
and apprehending him, for the comfort no doubt of repentant Jewes; Matt
was pleaſed ſo ſay, That if he had prayed, *his Father could have given* 53,5
him more then twelve legions of Angels, but then the Scriptures would not
have been fulfilled, that it muſt be ſo, and that *all was done that the Scriptures*
of the Prophets might be fulfilled. In *John* we finde that *therefore they could*
not beleeve becauſe Eſaias ſaith, He hath blinded their eyes, *Joh.*12.39.40.
And whereas the ſame Evangeliſt ſaith, 1 *John* 4.20. *He that loveth not*
his brother whom he hath ſeen, how ſhall he love God whom he hath not ſeen:
So the Jews, though they ſaw Jeſus and crucified him, yet they knew
him not to be God, and by *Johns* way of arguing, were ſo much more,
to be excuſed, and the ſinne of Chriſtians aggravated, who doe not only
know their brethren, but many times acknowledge that they ſetting
aſide the difference of opinion, have more eminent gifts and abilities
then themſelves; and yet will not forbeare to perplex and perſecute
them, and according to the principles which many of them hold
and practiſe, had they been living in our Saviours dayes, they would *Nc*
have been far likelier to have crucified him, then were the Jews themſelves:
And who can reſolve me, whether the penitent thiefe was not
once guilty, and actually conſenting unto Chriſts death? or whether
ſuch Chriſtians as come ſhort in nothing, but that they have not Chriſt
on earth in their power, will not be one day found guilty of crucifying
him againe, though they could not act it upon his perſon: beſides
the Saints are *coheires with Chriſt*, they are *his beloved ones*, *his glory*, *his* Rom.
Spouſe, nay they are *his body*, they are *Chriſt* himſelfe, they are all R.v.2
Anointed of the Lord, and we are forbid to *touch them*: Oh let us not Pſa.1
be longer guilty of perſecuting the leaſt of them: And whereas Saint Eph.1
Paul exhorted the Hebrewes that they ſhould not be forgetfull to *entertaine* 1 Cor
ſtrangers, becauſe *ſome thereby had entertained Angels unawares*; 12.
I humbly wiſh all Chriſtian people would, in the feare of God, conſider, Pſ.10
whether in putting their Chriſtian brethren to death for matters of 2 Cor.
conſcience & Religion only, they do not run a thouſand times greater Heb.

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Heb.12. hazard to ſpill the innocent bloud of Gods choſen people, his *firſt born,*
23. *whoſe names are written in heaven,* and that it be imputed to them to have
crucified the Lord himſelfe againe , far more wilfully then the Jewes ,
Matth.25. becauſe *we crucifie him in his Saints*; our brethren, *whom we have both ſeen*
40.45. *and knowne.*

It is ſaid in the Acts, *Act* 18.12,13,14,16. that when *Gallio* was Deputy of *Achaia*, the Jewes made inſurrection with one accord againſt *Paul*, and brought him to the judgement ſeat, ſaying, This fellow *perwadeth men to worſhip God contrary to the Law*, but *Gallio* anſwered the Jews, and told them, *if it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdneſſe*, he would have done as equity required, and herewith drove them from the judgement ſeat : now though no doubt but God guided this proceeding of *Gallio*, that *Paul* might have the better opportunity to preach the Goſpel, ſo is *Gallio* his judgement more remarkable, who at ſuch a time and inſtant, as God had over him a ſpeciall, and more then ordinary providence could ſay, (though it is likely that he regarded alike
Note. the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian Religion, yet we who are under the Goſpel may eſpecially learne it from him) that the worſhiping of God in a different manner, though contrary to an eſtabliſhed civill Law, according as men finde themſelves bound in conſcience, which muſt not be wavering or doubting, ought not to be interpreted or accounted as wicked lewdneſſe, or a matter of wrong to thoſe that were of another opinion, much leſſe be puniſhed as ſuch.

The paſſage of *Gamaliel*, *Act.* cap.5. and what he ſaid to diſſwade the Jewes from perſecuting the Apoſtles to death, is no leſſe worth our ſerious conſideration : The Apoſtles having cured and converted multitudes of people , verſ.18. the high Prieſt and all that were with him being full of indignation, laid hands on the Apoſtles and put them into priſon , but the Lord who never forſakes thoſe that truſt in him, ſent an Angel and brought them out againe ; the Apoſtles according as the Angel bid them, went into the Temple to teach the word of life, which when the Jewes underſtood , they cauſed them to be apprehended and brought before the Councell that they might be put to death : The Jewes having finiſhed their accuſations , and the Apoſtles anſwered what God inſpired them with for their owne defence, *Gamaliel* one of the Councell, a Phariſie, a great Doctor of the Law, and in reputation among the people, having commanded the Apoſtles to withdraw, ſaid unto them, verſ.35. Ye men of Iſrael, *take heed to your ſelves what ye intend to doe concerning theſe men* , and having given examples of *Theudas* and *Judas* who for a while drawing much people to them, were afterwards diſperſed, exhorted them to *let the Apoſtles alone*, ſaying, v.38.39.

If this counſell or this worke be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, leſt happily ye be found even to fight againſt God; and the Jewes agreed with him: I know that moſt men now adayes, either reflect little upon theſe Scriptures, or account both *Gamaliel* and *Gallio* to have plaid the worldly polititians in this buſineſſe, and not being fervent in their owne Religion, tooke care only to quiet the people for the preſent, alledging, that we muſt not live like thoſe that ſay, let the world goe how it liſt, nor expect that God will relieve us when we lye ſtill in the ditch, and cry God helpe us only; but I deſire ſuch to conſider, that as the luke-warm are ſo diſtaſtefull unto God, that he hath declared himſelfe *to ſpue them out*; ſo he hath alſo ſaid, that men many times have *a zeale without knowledge*, and that *the wrath of man workes not the righteouſneſſe of God*, for which cauſe *James* exhorts them to *be ſlow to wrath.*

Object.
Anſw.
Rev 3.16
Rom.10.2
Jam.2.19, 20.

Gamaliel and *Gallio* are not to be looked upon barely as polititians, who in that reſpect might be biaſed, & carried awry through their own private intereſt, or that of State, but their reaſon ſhould be truly valued by men of moderate temper, not without zeale, the more the better ſo it be *according to knowledge*, but I mean ſuch men as are not engaged to the contrary opinion: *Gamaliels* great argument was, that the Jewes ſhould forbeare to perſecute the Apoſtles, becauſe they ran a hazard of fighting againſt God, and this was no bare jealouſie or phanſie of *Gamaliels*, but a moſt ſacred truth; for we finde that our Saviour told *Paul* before he was converted, that he perſecuted him, whileſt he held the garments of thoſe that ſtoned *Steven*, and haled the Saints both men and women up and downe before Magiſtrates and into priſon, *Act.9.4,* 5. and 22. and 23. chap. And it is yet further to be obſerved that theſe advices and counſells of *Gallio* and *Gamaliel*, were not only grounded upon policie, reaſon and Religion, but were in favour of the Apoſtles, and recorded by the Spirit of God, with the liberty and ſucceſſe which enſued thereon in the Apoſtles freer preaching of the Goſpell, which in a kinde of ſilent manner tells us they were guided by an eſpeciall providence to become inſtruments of procuring Liberty of Conſcience unto the Apoſtles, and remaine an example for all Chriſtians to grant the like to one another.

Rom.10.2
Note.

Will it not be acknowledged that the Biſhops in Queene *Maries* dayes, and ſince, perſecuted many Chriſtians, and therein reſiſted Chriſt inſtead of ſetting him up upon his throne? Yea ſome will ſay, but they were Papiſts in Q. *Maries* dayes, and Epiſcopacie is *Antichriſtian*, but *Presbytery* or ſome other government may be *jure divino*, and will only ſuppreſſe Hereſies, and ſettle a uniformity in the Church of Chriſt: I anſwer, that the Biſhops in Queen *Maries* dayes, and ſince, whether

Object.
Anſw.

Papiſts or others, did then ſay as much, and with equall confidence in defence of their coercive proceedings for preventing Schiſmes, and eſtabliſhing uniformity, and that they had Gods word to backe them in it, and though I am fully aſſured, that God hath been pleaſed to diſcover unto us ſince, a greater meaſure of his truth then ever, yet if a Presbytery, or other Eccleſiaſticall government ſhall ſilence or perſecute in whatſoever manner, ſuch Chriſtians as are conſcientious, pious in their actions, zealous for God, and painfull in propagating of the Goſpel, though they differ in opinion, and hold ſome points contrary to the current of the times, but are obedient to higher powers in civil matters that ſuch ſhould be perſecuted whether by Presbyteriall or other government, I never yet heard other reaſon for it then what Antichriſt himſelfe alledged ſo long ſince, nor doe ſee any other likelihood from the politick conſtitution of this State, much leſſe can finde evidence in Scripture, but it may run the hazard, that future times, when God ſhall pleaſe to enlighten us yet further, will acknowledge it to be erronious, that it will appear in the laſt day to have been *a fighting againſt God,* and *perſecuting of Chriſt*, or at leaſt a reſiſting and *quenching of the Spirit and gifts of God*, which are acknowledged to be in ſuch men ſo ſilenced and oppoſed.

St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians tells them, 1 *Cor.*12. in the beginning, There are *diverſities of gifts,* but *one Spirit, one Lord, one God*; *to one,* he ſaies, *is given the word of wiſdom, to an other the word of knowledge*; to one *faith*, to an other the *gift of healing*; to one the *gift of miracles*, to an other *propheſie*; to one *diſcerning of ſpirits,* to an other *divers kinds of tongues,* and to an other the *interpretation of tongues,* but *all theſe work by one and the ſelfe ſame Spirit:* And though all theſe are gifts of the Spirit, and that there is not any one of theſe but a man may have it, and be a reprobate, for even of faith *Paul* himſelf ſaies, 1 *Cor.*13.2. though he had it in ſuch a degree as he could remove mountaines, if he had not charity withall, he were nothing, yet it is ſaid in the 7 verſe of the 12 Chaper, That *the maniſeſtation of the Spirit in the diverſity of gifts, is given to profit with*, that is for the profit and benefit of the Church to which theſe gifts were to be communicated: now if all theſe gifts are from God, and if God gave them that they might be improved or diſpenced unto all Nations; nay, ſince in the third verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is revealed unto us, that no man can ſo much as ſay, That *Jeſus is the Lord*
Note. *but by the holy Ghoſt*: how can it be denied, but that the ſilencing or perſecuting of any man that hath but one or more of theſe gifts in him, becauſe he wants ſome others, or hath not all, is not a plaine ſuppreſſing of the Holy Ghoſt? which though given in a ſmaller meaſure (like him

that had but one talent in the Goſpel, and was condemned to utter darkneſſe for not imploying it) Matth.25. or if it had extended only to the ſaying that Jeſus is the Lord, were all given to profit by, and would doubtleſſe effectually prove profitable, if they were not unwarrantably quenched.

Suppoſe I were of the faith generally profeſſed in New *England*, and had a brother of the Presbyteriall Diſcipline in *Scotland*, who loving me as himſelfe, deſired nothing ſo much as to conforme me to his own opinion, I that am no whit inferiour to him in affection, that I may bee the better able to give account of my owne faith, free from the leaſt doubting, but prepared to imbrace any truth which to me remains yet unrevealed, after I have tried it by the touchſtone of Gods word; and made uſe of ſuch other helpes as God hath given me, that I may be the ſtronger ſetled, and not ſeem obſtinate in my opinion, but eſpecially hoping hereby, as St. *Paul*, *Rom.*9.22. whileſt he became *all things to all men*, to convince my brother in the errour of his wayes, I render my ſelfe complying upon his requeſt, to heare or read whatſoever can bee ſaid in the defence of Presbytery: Now when I have uſed all thoſe lawfull meanes which he preſcribed me, or could thinke any wayes available to reduce a man to that opinion, and tell him notwithſtanding, that I finde not the leaſt ſcruple or ground of doubting in that faith which before I made profeſſion of; my brother, who ſees no greater errour or weakneſſe in me then in himſelfe, hath nothing elſe to except againſt me, knowes that I cannot be of what religion or opinion I will my ſelfe, untill I be fully convinced about the truth thereof, and that a bare doubting in point of conſcience, would bring damnation on me, can, I ſay, my brother Presbyter in ſuch a caſe, upon good ground or reaſon, thinke I ought to be ſilenced or perſecuted in any manner? Can there be a Law according to Gods word to puniſh me for what lay not in my power to remedy, nor may with a ſafe conſcience be diſſembled? *Object.* But it will be ſaid, that this plyableneſſe and readineſſe to receive ſuch truth as ſhall be diſcovered, may be counterfet and hypocriticall, and that ſuch as Scripture and reaſon doe not convince, are wilfully obſtinate, or in ſtate of reprobation, though they know it not themſelves: *Anſw.* To this I anſwer, That though it be ſaid of the Jewes, This people is waxed groſſe, and their eares are dull of hearing, Act.28.27 *and their eyes have they cloſed, leſt they ſhould ſee with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and underſtand with their heart, and ſhould be converted,* and I ſhould heale them, yet it was not meant that every one of that Nation was hardned, or of any particular perſon that he could bee diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, nay it is plaine, there are no ſignes or to-

Luke 6. 43,44. Act 22. kens given us infallibly to know an obſtinate or reprobate heart by, for though it be ſaid, *A good tree doth not bring forth bad fruit*, & *you ſhall know the tree by the fruit*, and that *of thornes men do not gather figs, nor of bramble buſhes grapes*; yet we know that *Paul* perſecuted, & was a blaſphemer to the laſt, even till he was vocally called by Chriſt from heaven; and the Joh.6.44. ſame Chriſt when he was on earth ſaid, *No man can come unto me except the Father draw him*, and therefore we have expreſſe order to *judge no-* 1 Cor.4.5. *thing before the time*, untill the Lord come who will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſſe; and St. *Paul* ſaies, *Rom.* 14.4. *Who art thou that judgeſt an other mans ſervant, to his owne maſter he ſtandeth or falleth, yea he ſhall be upheld, for God is able to make him ſtand?*

We finde in *Matthew*, *Matth.* 17.5. that the Apoſtles heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed, heare ye him: And our Saviour bid them *tell no body thereof till he was riſen again from the dead*: whence we may be informed, that *Hear ye him*, was not ſaid ſo much to the Apoſtles themſelves, as to all Chriſtians in their generations to the end of the world; for if that viſion, and that doctrine of *Heare ye Chriſt*, be not to be taught till after our Saviour be riſen from the dead, after which time he had but a few dayes to ſpend amongſt them on earth, then muſt it follow, That it is Chriſt ſtill that ſpeaks to us in his Goſpel, and by the Miniſters of his Goſpel, the power which the Miniſters of the Church have, is the power of Matth:28.18. Chriſt, who is the head of the Church, and though Chriſt as he is God, hath power equall with God, and all power was given unto him in Joh.18.36 Heaven and in Earth; yet as he ſaid his Kingdom was not of this world, ſo neither may the Church imploy the power of the world, or uſe ſuch coercive meanes in the government of his Kingdome, as men be forced to performe outward obedience for feare, and doe what they doe for the Church or civill powers ſake, and not for Chriſts, like unto thoſe people who are led to worſhip the Divell, leſt he ſhould doe them hurt.

And as in a politicke State, it is not ſafe to ſuffer a penny to be taken or forced from any man in an illegall way; ſo much leſſe may an Eccleſiaſticall government and power, or the Church of Chriſt extend their juriſdiction beyond the expreſſe and preciſe warrant of the Scripture Law, for Chriſts power being unlimited as he was God and Man, whoſoever layes claim thereunto to exerciſe it according to any other rule, ſubjects himſelf to the greateſt temptation of becomming a boundleſſe Tyrant, and the people to be enthralled by the moſt arbitrary and wretched tyranny and vaſſallage of any under heaven: 1. Becauſe they that take upon them this ſupremacie of expounding Scripture whether in doctrine or diſcipline muſt ſay in effect; or infer by their proceedings, that their dictates are the infallible truths of God, otherwiſe men will be apt to think they had as good beleeve their own: Secondly, that it is infallibly Gods wil to have thoſe dictates of theirs to be forced upon mens conſciences: and thirdly, that they are infallibly called thereunto, & guided by Gods Spirit to ſee them executed; all which are the darling reaſons and tenets of the Papacie to uphold the ſpirituall Scepter, greater they cannot be, the very Power and Spirit of God himſelfe, as they pretend, and leſſe would not be colour enough to force the people to receive them: Now I ſhall leave it to every underſtanding Chriſtian to thinke and judge, whether ſuch as exerciſe the ſame dominion and power over the conſcience which the Pope does, and not give the ſame, or as good a reaſon for it, may not be thought greater tyrants and uſurpers in requiring ſuch obedience and implicite faith to their owne abilities and ſtrength, which the Pope is ſo modeſt as to acknowledge only due to an infallibility, and that infallibility to be from God? *Note.*

In civill affaires we ſee by experience that every man moſt commonly underſtands beſt his owne buſineſſe, and ſuch as doe not, but rely upon the managing and foreſight of others, be they of what calling or condition ſoever, in a few yeares run out at heels, to the utter undoing of themſelves and whole families; beſides we ſhould thinke it a moſt groſſe ſoleciſme, and extravagant courſe in any State which did make Laws and Statutes, that the Subject might not goe about and diſpatch his worldly buſineſſe, ſave in one generall preſcript forme and manner, as a thing moſt irrationall and inequitable, becauſe it cannot poſſibly be ſutable to the infinite occaſions and intereſts of a Kingdome, or leſſer people: Nay, why are not all *Arts* and *Sciences* thus manacled, if *Divinity* may be ſo much improved thereby? why have not each of them their reſpective theſes, poſitions, and concluſions limited and aſſigned them? why are Phyſitians permitted to make experiments, and kill men after what faſhion they pleaſe? Surely this kinde of *Inquiſition, Government* and *Diſcipline*, ſhould firſt have practiſed upon other *Arts* and *Sciences*, without daring to tamper with *Theologie* and *Conſcience*, before it had proceeded maſter of all the reſt: Beſides, as our Saviour in the Parable, where the more early labourers murmured that the latter commers ſhould have equall reward with them, ſaid, *Is it not lawfull for me to do what I will with mine own?* Matth. 20 15. So we know that every man is deſirous to doe with his owne as he thinks good himſelfe, (eſpecially when others receive no wrong thereby, as in the ſaid Parable) Ver. 13 and if it thrive not in his owne way, he may thanke himſelfe, and will like better

ter of it, and be content with what he does himſelfe though it prove ill not ſo, if others have the manage and ordering of it againſt his own deſire : but in ſpirituall matters it holdeth much ſtronger, and concernes men to be more circumſpect and warie, as the good or ill thereof readeth unto eternity: wherefore ſince it is as poſſible for them or him to erre, who take upon them to conduct me to heaven, as I my ſelfe, ſince
4. it is granted that *I muſt give account, repent and beleeve for my ſelfe*, and cannot doe either by proxie; ſince *no man knoweth the things of a man*,
2. *ſave the ſpirit of the ſame man which is within him*; ſince my ſalvation ought to be more deare unto my ſelfe then to any elſe; ſince if I miſcarry through mine owne choice and will, I ſhall eaſier acknowledge my deſtruction to be from my ſelfe, and declare Gods judgements to be juſt; If I periſh by mine own folly, tis the loſſe of one, but if miſled by others, we all fall into the ditch together, with an aggravation of our condemnation, to me that relyed finally upon others in a buſineſſe of the greateſt concernment that poſſibly could befall me, without other poſſibility or aſſurance of doing well, than by an implicite faith; and to them that tooke upon them to be guide and pilote unto others in a coercive way eſpecially, when they knew not how to ſave themſelves. For all theſe reſpects, and infinite others which might be heaped up, I deſire every Chriſtian heart, in the feare of God, to conſider, and revolve in his ſaddeſt and moſt retired thoughts, whether it be not a much ſafer way in ſpirituall affaires, for every particular man to underſtand his owne eſtate betwixt God and himſelfe, and manage his own buſines; whether it be not a greater infringement of Chriſtian libertie and proprietie, to have burdens and impoſitions layd upon the conſcience, whereby a poore ſoule lives in hatefull bondage upon earth, and ſubjects it ſelfe unto perpetuall torments in hell hereafter, without a meanes or poſſibility to helpe himſelfe, though he be ſenſible of the miſerable ſtate and condition wherein he is, or apprehend the inevitable deſtruction whereto they lead him?

If the redeeming civill rights and priviledges which hath made this preſent Parliament ſo deare, be acceptable in ſo high a nature as to engage the Kingdome in a war for their defence; how much more will the Liberty of Conſcience, which tranſcends the other, as far as ſpirituall liberty does temporall, engage it ſtill further at their devotions? The civill Lawes permit Subjects to defend their eſtates with Swords and Guns; but what kinde of Laws are thoſe which expoſe men naked, to have their Religion and Conſciences aſſaulted? The civility of the French Nation is ſuch, that in regard the Proteſtants, though they have a liberty of profeſſion, being moſt commonly fewer in number in what ever company they happen, leſt the Proteſtants ſhould therewith be adaſh'd as wanting courage, and not enjoy an equall liberty and freedome of converſation with the Papiſts; in this reſpect, they are ſo temperate and diſcreet, that it is held an unſeemly and uncivill part, for a Papiſt to aske an other what Religion he is of; whereas in *England* it is ordinary with Proteſtants, to reproach one another with the nick-name of Puritan or Separatiſt, Presbyterian or Independent, even thoſe which we cannot but acknowledge to be conſcientious and jealous of offending God in any thing, and that which renders us inexcuſable, is, that many times when we cannot colourably fix any of theſe diſtinctions upon a man, who differs from us in opinion, or diſcourſe only, we are ſo apt to terme him malignant or Popiſhly affected, though never any Law was yet made to declare them ſuch.

It is uſuall with gameſters to ſay they had rather loſe their own money, then that others ſhould loſe it for them; and ſurely if we took as much delight in ſaving our ſoules, as gameſters doe in loſing of their money, we would quickly chuſe to hazard the loſſe of our owne ſouls our ſelves, rather then forgoe the preſent joy and comfort of endeavouring the ſalvation of them by our owne, and not by an implicite faith.

Parents or ſuch as beare affection, when God pleaſes to call their friends or children out of this world by ſickneſſe, have great contentment, that they were neare at hand to ſend for the Phyſitians, and provide ſuch remedies, as if God had pleaſed, were likelieſt to prevail for their recovery; how much more then will it encreaſe the miſeries of the damned, when they ſhall thinke and ſee how fooliſh and ſottiſh they have been, to take no care or thought of making their ſalvation ſure, by trying of the ſpirits, and ſearching whether they were in the truth or no? How will children curſe their parents, ſervants their maſters, and whole Nations the State and Government wherein they were borne and bred, which inſtead of teaching them to *prove all things and holdfaſt that which is good,* have brought them up in blinde devotion, and ſuperſtitious idolizing of whatſoever their anceſtors or themſelves beleeved, ſaying, they ought to be wiſe unto ſobriety, and not preferre their owne ſtudies or judgements, before the Acts and Cannons of Synods and whole Kingdomes? It is true that Chriſt promiſed he would ſend *the Spirit which ſhould lead them into all truth,* and that *where two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midſt of them;* from whence, and ſuch like Scriptures it will follow, that a Church, Synod or Councell cannot erre in fundamentalls, no more then an elect Chriſtian fall finally from grace, ſo long as ſuch a Synod, or Church keeps

1 The
21.

Joh. 1
13.
Matth.
20.

cloſe unto the Scriptures, and herein all Chriſtians agree, and joyne in one confeſſion, that the Bible is the very truth and word of God, but when a Proteſtant Synod or Papall Councell ſhall goe further, and Paraphraſe, make Inferences, Conſequences, Concluſions, Canons, and the like; or ſay, this is the genuine, full and only ſenſe and meaning of ſuch a Text, and not as their reſpective adverſaries object, herein they are both, though not equally, in a poſſibility of erring, and cannot be infallibly ſure of truth, but as each of them is apt to abound in their own ſenſe, thinking their peculiar expoſition trueſt, and cannot chuſe but be ſwayed therewith, ſo ought they equally, to leave all ſuch as differ from them, as large a liberty and freedome to enjoy their owne opinions; for though the Members of one Synod may be more learned, wiſe, and outwardly conſcientious, and zealous in Religion then another, yet theſe are no infallible grounds, and tokens of Gods gteater illumination and preſence with one, then with the other, and though a third and more ſuperiour Synod, ſhould ſee that one of the two former is in an errour, and adviſe them that they ſhall do well to aſſent unto the other, yet this Synod which hath two to one againſt it ſelfe, neither may, nor can forſake their owne opinions, upon the bare authority of the other two, before they ſee cleare evidence in Scripture, whereby their owne reaſon findes it ſelfe convinced: And ſince in that text according to *John* the Evangeliſt afore mentioned, where it is ſaid, cap. 16. 13, 14, 15. *The Spirit ſhall lead them into all truth*; it appears, that, that truth is no other, then what the bleſſed Spirit had heard and received of Chriſts, then much leſſe may frail mankinde whether aſſembled in a Synod, or otherwiſe, thinke any thing of their owne addition, or but varied in the leaſt tittle, to be infallible, or of equall authority with Scripture: nay, ſince neither Chriſt, nor his Diſciples thought good to force men to receive their Goſpel, how much more preſumptuous is it in men of the ſame paſſions and infirmities with others, to impoſe Cannons and reſolutions upon the conſciences of their brethren?

Chriſt ſaid unto his Diſciples, *Matth.* 7.6. *Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither caſt your pearles before ſwine leſt they trample them under their feet:* and when a woman of Canaan beſought him, unto whom upon the third motion, he anſwered, cap. 15. 26, 28. *O woman great is thy faith*; yet upon her firſt and ſecond deprecation, ſhe could obtaine no better anſwer, then, *It is not meet to take the childrens bread, and caſt it unto dogs:* And in *Davids* Pſalmes, *Pſal.* 50 16, 17. God ſaid unto the wicked, *What haſt thou to doe to take my Covenant into thy mouth, ſeeing thou hateſt inſtruction, and caſteſt my words behinde thee?* Yet theſe Perſecutors and Inquiſitors, which compell others to communion with them, doe not barely proſtitute the ſacred Ordinances of God, by affable enticing and alluring a mixt multitude to abuſe them, but far more unnaturally, and with greater impiety, becauſe ſpirituall, then thoſe of Sodome tempt, provoke and force them by ſo many ſeverall wayes, to raviſh and deflowre the Church their ſpirituall Mother, and deareſt Spouſe of Chriſt: Nay, ſuppoſe Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe ſhould come againe perſonally, and live amongſt us upon earth, I would very faine be aſſured, how he might be free of being perſecuted, and crucified againe, according to the principalls of ſuch government, if he ſhould either worke miracles, or teach, or ſpeake any thing beſides the rule of mans inventions, or above the capacity of our fraile and carnall apprehenſions.

It is acknowledged that St. *Paul* ſayes, *Rom.* 13.1. *Let every ſoule be ſubject unto the higher powers*; but this only is meant in civill matters, and not ſuch as may concerne the inward governing and reglement of the ſoul, or affect the conſcience with remorſe and guiltineſſe; for firſt, we finde in ſeverall other texts, that if the difference be between Gods prerogative, and the powers on earth, *It is better to obey God then man*; and that *Paul* meant no leſſe, appears clearly in the ſame Chaper, where he ſayes *Rom.* 13.5. *Ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*, which cannot poſſibly ſucceed, if they commanded any thing contrary to conſcience, or the divine Supremacy, unto which only, as it is acknowledged even by the light of Nature, the conſcience is primarily ſubject, and not unto any other Law or Court, without expreſſe warrant and diſpenſation. Secondly, though we muſt be ſubject unto all Powers, becauſe *the Powers and Miniſters are of God*, yet we are not bound to be ſubject to any of them, farther then their known reſpective powers extend, for the power which is aſſumed beyond their bounds is not of God, and ſo the reaſon which *Paul* urges, why we muſt be obedient falls to ground, I meane in reſpect of active obedience, and for paſſive, eſpecially towards thoſe that are ſupreme, I refer the Reader to ſuch as have ſo lately argued it ſo largely.

Act.5.2

I deſire not to ſeem as thinking that Chriſtians may live as they liſt, for when *Paul* told the Galatians, *Gal.* 5.13. that they were called unto liberty, he bid them withall, not uſe it for an occaſion to the fleſh; or that government is ever a whit the leſſe neceſſary in any Church, State, or Common-wealth, for even a Corporation, or family cannot well ſubſiſt without it: but it may not be imagined, that God did not preſcribe and leave expreſſe warrant, how he would have his owne houſe governed. *Paul* tells *Timothy* that he wrote thoſe things unto him, hoping to come in perſon ſhortly, but *in caſe he tarried longer that*

Timothy might know how he ought to behave himſelfe in the houſe of God, 1 *Tim*.2.14. and as *Paul* thought theſe directions enough, and *Timothy* might not goe beyond commiſſion, ſo neither may we imploy any other means, or inſtruments to uphold Chriſts government or houſhold, then ſuch as were by him preſcribed, which St. *Paul* ſayes, 2 *Cor*.10.4,5. are only *Spirituall*, *but mighty through God to the pulling downe of ſtrong holds, caſting downe imaginations, and every high thing which exalteth it ſelfe againſt the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt:* And he ſaid to the Epheſians, *Put on the armour of God that you may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the divell, for we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and bloud, but againſt the rulers of darkneſſe of this world, againſt ſpirituall wickedneſſe in high places, Eph.6.* 11, 12. The armour preſcribed by him was only ſpirituall, and therefore their enemies cannot be imagined otherwiſe then ſpirituall. But if civill powers, or others, have authority in matters of Religion, then their commands and Laws in that reſpect, muſt be as abſolute, as in any other, and ought equally to be obeyed, which would ingage the whole Kingdome ſtill to the Diſcipline of the Common-Prayer-Book, and government of Epiſcopacy which for the preſent ſtand eſtabliſhed by ſundry Acts of Parliament unrepealed; and all Puritans, Non-conformiſts or Proteſtant ſeparatiſts of what ſort ſoever, are as ſubject to perſecution as any Papiſts, which appears by the reſpective Acts themſelves in that behalfe, 2. and 3. *Edw. 6.* cap.5. and 6. *Edw 6.* cap.1. 1. *Eliz.* cap. 2. And if Subjects may ſay that Epiſcopacie and the Service-Booke are Antichriſtian, contrary to the word of God, and may be their own judges in that reſpect, what hinders but they may ſay ſo too concerning Presbytery, or any other government? Wherefore there remaines no *medium*, either a Liberty of Conſcience muſt be permitted us to enjoy our owne opinions in matters of Religion, or elſe there is a neceſſity of being liable and ſubject againſt Conſcience, whenſoever the civill powers which ſurely are no more infallible then Eccleſiaſticall, ſhall happen to enact or ſtabliſh any thing elſe, leſſe conſonant and agreeing to the word of God.

And whereas the 15. Chapter of the *Acts* is commonly alledged, from whence they deduce the authority and uſe of Synods, with a ſupremacie of power in matters Eccleſiaſticall, I ſay that whatſoever is pretended from thence in behalfe of Synods, Papiſts have long ſince ſaid the ſame, and far more in favour of their Generall Councells, but that there is no ground at all in that place, neither for Synods, or Generall Councells, in that way which is pretended by either of them, beſides ſundry others, will manifeſtly appeare by theſe few reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe *Paul* and *Barnabas* with the others ſent from *Antioch*, did
not appeare as Commiſſioners or Repreſentatives at the conſultation
of *Jeruſalem*, jointly to conſult with the *Apoſtles and Elders* about the Act.15.
matter in queſtion, but only made relation of their meſſage, as bare 4.5.
meſſengers. 2. The Text it ſelfe ſaies, they ſhould go to *Jeruſalem* unto
the *Apoſtles and Elders* about this queſtion, and not unto a Synod. Verſ.2.
Thirdly, the Apoſtles and Elders of *Jeruſalem* only, came together to
conſider of the buſineſſe, as appeares by collating verſ. 6. with verſ. 2.
and 4. the multitude which were then preſent, being perhaps ſtanders Verſ. 12.
by, as I may ſo ſay, or rather the Brethren alſo, who if they did conſult
in v. 23. they were the Brethren of *Jeruſalem*, the naming whereof
evidences more plainly, that there were no others who conſulted.
Fourthly, *Syria* and *Cilicia* had no Commiſſioners there, for if they had,
they would have been named as well as *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when the
Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren of Jeruſalem wrote their letters, and the decree Verſ.23.
ſhould have been publiſhed in the name of the Commiſſioners,
and Repreſentatives of *Antioch*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all others that did
conſult, as well as of the Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren of *Jeruſalem*,
had they been all aſſembled in a Synod, and ſo much more would it
have obliged their reſpective Churches, whom they repreſented: But
perhaps it may be not improbably conjectured that *Paul* and *Barnabas*
as they paſſed from *Antioch* through *Cilicia* and *Syria*, underſtanding
that the Churches there were no leſſe diſquieted with the ſame falſe
doctrines, of their own accords informed the Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren
of *Jeruſalem* ſo much at ſome more private ſeaſon, whereupon
they joyned them together in their Chriſtian care, and directed their
letters joyntly to all the Gentiles of *Antioch*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, becauſe
it was equally available to them all, though the queſtion was only moved
by thoſe of *Antioch*. Fifthly, the Apoſtles and Elders anſwer of
Jeruſalem does not imply any neceſſity of thoſe other Churches ſubmiſſion
unto their determination, otherwiſe then infallibly inſpired
men, as appears by ver. 28. Sixtly, the reſult of the Aſſembly, was not
publiſhed, nor the letters wrote as from a Synod, but in the name of
the Church of Jeruſalem to the Churches of Antioch, Syria and Cilicia; for
it ſaies verſ. 22. It pleaſed *the Apoſtles and Elders with the whole Church*
to ſend choſen men, &c. and verſ. 23. The Apoſtles and Elders and
Brethren ſend greeting, whereas had they been aſſembled in Pontificalibus
or as a Synod, they would never have termed themſelves by the
denomination of a Church; And ſeventhly, they impoſed not their decrees
with *Anathema's*, or upon the Churches utmoſt perill of fire and
ſword, beſides whatſoever was then decreed by that pretended Synod,

Verſ.29. was only that Chriſtians ſhould abſtaine from meats offered unto Idols, from bloud, things ſtrangled and from fornication, with an expreſſe Verſ.28. preamble, That it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and them not to lay any greater burden then thoſe neceſſary things, but the meat offered un-
1 Cor.8. 8. and 10. Chap. to Idolls was quickly diſpenced with, and for bloud and things ſtrangled, we take liberty unto our ſelves; but if Synods and civill Magiſtrates would raiſe no further impoſitions, for matters of Religion, nor impoſe other penalties then are there ſpecified, it would not be ſo burdenſome, or ſo ſlaviſh a bondage to Gods Saints, and moſt conſcientious Chriſtians, as they have been faine to prevent by flight, or live under, to the great vexation of their ſoules, and perhaps not altogether without a doubting conſcience.

But why doe not Synods begin all their decrees, with, *It pleaſeth the Holy Ghoſt and us?* &c. this methinks is more plauſible and eaſier to be beleeved, then the forcing of their decrees and votes upon others can be digeſted; for if any man tell me, he is ſometime miraculouſly inſpired, I have no infallible means to diſprove him, though it were falſe, and ſometimes I may ſee juſt inducements to beleeve him, but I cannot poſſibly beleeve what he propounds unto me, contrary to mine owne reaſon and underſtanding; and yet though the Apoſtles, Elders, and Church of Chriſt in *Jeruſalem*, were immediately inſpired, and ſpake in the Holy Ghoſts name, yet they fixed not to their decrees any
Act 15.29 other conjuration or threatnings, then, *If you doe theſe things, you ſhall doe well.*

Nazienz. ad Proco. Epiſt. 55. Grotii Apolog. cap. 6. p. 108. *Gregory Nazienzen* could ſay that he never ſaw good end of Generall Councells; and *Hugo Grotius* in theſe latter times, both eminent for learning, and a friend to the Church Government of the united Provinces, does notwithſtanding affirm, that he could never underſtand how Synods can prove a ſingular remedy for reconciling differences in Religion: and indeed as it may eaſily be obſerved, that Generall Councells and Synods, have ſeldome had good ſucceſſe, ſo for the moſt part, it may eaſily appeare, that there could not much better be expected, for commonly the choice of ſuch as were ſent thither, was factious or ſiding at the leaſt, and the whole proceedings accordingly, they ſought rather to decide matters by a major part of voyces, then by mature debating and arguing of the queſtion, they did take advantages as well for alledging their owne reaſons, as concealing, or over-ſhadowing the reaſons of ſuch as were of contrary opinions, that they might not be heard, debated, or throughly underſtood, and being in all reſpects watchfull, how they might with craft and ſubtilty circumvent, and over reach one another, to compaſſe their private intereſts, or indirect ends, which the reſpective parties that ſent them thither did principally aime at, amongſt other ſtratagems and pollicies, it hath not been the leaſt to lay hold of ſuch times and ſeaſons, to make their motions or forbeare, when ſuch, or ſuch were preſent or abſent, which might beſt further or hinder, by ſeconding or contradicting of their arguments.

But by Hiſtories and Records of what paſſed betwixt all the Proteſtant Nations almoſt, ſince the Reformation, it appears plainly, that though in ſome Countries, and at ſome times, when certaine hot ſpirits were predominant, there hath been for a ſpirt, very bitter perſecuting of Proteſtants for difference in Religion, yet their opinions and intentions when conſiderately reſolved were ſtill ſettled for Liberty of Conſcience; and *Calvin* tells us, That the holy Biſhops [of ancient times] did not exerciſe their authority in fining, impriſoning, and civill puniſhments, and for his owne judgement in this particular, he ſaies, Though he write a whole tract about puniſhing of Heretickes, yet he could not chuſe but acknowledge ſo much truth in a few lines only as confutes the whole Treatiſe, where he tells us, That as the Church hath no power of forcing of its owne, ſo neither may it require ſuch of civill Magiſtrates, to imploy it in a coercive way: And *Beza*, God never gave power to man for impoſing Lawes upon the Conſcience, nor can endure that any body beſides himſelfe ſhould beare ſway or dominion over the mindes of men, *de Hæret. à Civil. Magiſt. puniendis.* The States of the united Provinces, when they firſt began to free themſelves from the Spaniſh tyranny, declared, That *they took not up Armes for matter of Religion,* as appears by letters which the States of *Holland* at that time wrote unto thoſe of *Amſterdam*, quoted by *Hugo Grotius* in his Apologie, of thoſe that governed Holland, and the neighbouring Nations in 1618. for then *Amſterdam*, and ſeverall other chiefe Townes were abſolutely Popiſh for matter of Religion; and yet all thoſe Provinces and ſeverall Townes did unanimouſly agree, that, though they joyned their force againſt the Spaniard and common enemy, for redemption and maintenance of their priviledges and immunities, yet the liberty and freedome of Conſcience ſhould be reſerved to all, and each of them reſpectively: The Proteſtants of *Switzerland* and *Germany* have publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe in their Confeſſions and Manifeſto's, and even of latter yeares, when the Synod of Dort was firſt thought on to be aſſembled, moſt of the States and Townes declared themſelves before hand, that it was not their intentions that the ſaid Synod ſhould oblige them unto any thing that was not agreeable to their laws and government, which, as I ſaid before, had abundantly eſtabliſhed and ratified a Liberty of Conſcience to every

Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 11. ſect. 3.

Ibid. ſect. 16.

Cap. 2. 24.

every particular perſon that inhabited amongſt them: And though upon the determination of the ſame Synod, in the point of Predeſtination againſt Arminians, there enſued ſuddenly in ſome few places by the inſtigation of a moſt violent party, ſeconded by the Prince, a fierce perſecution and baniſhment of divers Miniſters and others which were of that opinion, with a totall ſilencing and inhibiting them to preach, yet they were quickly reſtored againe, and have now their places of publicke meetings, and greater liberty then ever, and that in Amſterdam and Utreckt, where they had ſuffered moſt, to the very change and alteration of their government, as may be ſeen more at large in *Grotius* his Apologie: But the States of Friſia in July 1622. put out a ſevere edict which is to be ſeen in Print, that none of the Dort Synod decrees ſhould be put in execution throughout their juriſdiction, untill they were by themſelves, in their owne Courts and Magiſtrates approved on; and in fine, I doe not finde ſo much as any one place, or City throughout the united Provinces, where any one decree which that Synod paſſed, is at preſent coercively enforced upon the inhabitants in any kinde; but contrarywiſe it is well knowne to all, how they permit people of all Religions to live amongſt them, and though they have continuall wars with Spain, and Papiſts in ſome Towns amongſt them have more liberty then in others, yet every where their freedome is great, and though in ſome places they are one fourth or one halfe part Papiſts, yet doe not the States ſubject themſelves to be terrified or troubled with jealouſies or other plots and treacheries then in puniſhing the authours at ſuch times as they happen to be diſcovered; I wiſh it were well weighed, whether the great liberty and freedome of the Goſpel which they permit, *That Chriſt be preached whether* 18. *through contention or of goodWill*, as *Paul* deſired, and rejoyced at, may not be a great meanes to prevaile with God Almighty thus to proſper them although they may otherwiſe have failings and weakneſſes, which worldly and carnall policies are moſt apt to bee overtaken with.

If the whole manner of Gods worſhip were revealed unto us, or any State or Church, and that ſuch a Church or State could be certaine to be in the preſent poſſeſſion, and practiſe of the whole truth, without any mixture of ſuperſtition and Idolatry, then would there be far more colour and ground for erecting an Inquiſition Office, or Spirituall Court to bring a Nation, a Countrey, or all Chriſtendome unto a uniformity both of Diſcipline and Doctrine, but this appeares plainly to be otherwiſe in both reſpects: Firſt, no Church can poſſibly be ſure to be without a mixture of errour and ſuperſtition, in that *it is neceſſary* *there ſhould be hereſies*, that they which are approved might be made manifeſt, and beſides we are foretold that there ſhall be *falſe Chriſts* and *falſe Prophets*, and for that cauſe we are commanded to *trie the Spirits whether they be of God or no:* Then ſecondly, God is pleaſed only to diſcover the Goſpel to us by peecemeals, as we become worthy and capable of the myſteries and truth thereof, which our Saviour teſtifies in *John*, *John* 16.12, 13. *I have yet many things to ſay unto you, but you cannot beare them now,* howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into *all truth :* Now though the Spirit which is the Holy Ghoſt be come, and is with his Saints unto the end of the world, teaching and inſtructing them in ſo many wholeſome truths, as are ſufficient for their ſalvation, yet moſt evident it is that God ſtill diſcovers *new truths* or *a greater meaſure of the ſame truths* by obedience, unto which he intends to bring unto ſalvation ſuch as are then living, or to be borne hereafter; and this appeares further from St. *Pauls* words to the Corinthians, where he ſaies, *We know but in part*, and *when I was a childe I ſpake as a childe*, underſtood and thought as a childe, but *when I became a man, I put away childiſh things*, 1 *Cor*.13.9.11. *Strong meat belongeth to men that are of a full age, Heb*. 5.13. In another place, *Who is ſufficient for theſe things?* And *I have fed you with milke and not with meat, for hitherto yee were not able to beare it, neither yet are ye able, for ye are yet carnall:* And of himſelfe though he were extraordi~~nary~~ and miraculouſly gifted out of a ſanctified zeale magnifying himſelfe unto the Philipians, he ſaies, *Not as though I were already perfect*, but forgetting theſe things which are behinde, and reaching forth unto thoſe things which are before, *I preſſe towards the marke*, &c. *Phil*.13.12, 13, 14. Beſides, if all Chriſtians were equally enlightned, and had the ſame meaſure and ſtrength of faith and knowledge, it would have been needleſſe for the Apoſtle to exhort us to *beare with one another*, there would have been no occaſion for *ſuch as are ſtrong to comport the weak*, nor all in generall to *bear one anothers burden*, which is required of us as the *fulfilling of the Law of Chriſt, Rom*.15.1. *Gal*.6.2. But the ſame cauſe which made the Corinthians incapable of meat, ſuch further truths and myſteries as St. *Paul* had to diſcover unto them, reſides in us doubtleſſe, and that in as great a meaſure, which is carnality, and conſequently witholds Gods Spirit from revealing a great part of his bleſſed will unto us, otherwiſe then as we grow leſſe carnally minded, and more ſpirituall.

1 C
19.
Mat
24.
2 Pe
1 Jo
1 Ti

Mat
20.

2 Co
16.
1 Cor
2,3.

us

And whereas it will be ſaid by ſome, that they have all the principalls and fundamentalls of Religion revealed unto them, whereby they may be wiſe unto ſalvation, which is as much as they are obliged to, and deſire no more : I crave leave to anſwer ſuch with another queſtion or *Object.* *Anſw.*

H two,

i. two, and aske, Doe you not ſometimes pray, *that Gods will may be done*
5. *on earth, as it is in heaven?* And are you qualified to do your part thereof?
Are you *perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect? Is the ſame minde in you*
13. *which is in Chriſt Jeſus?* Unleſſe you have attained to this perfection,
according to the meaſure and fulneſſe of Chriſt Jeſus, there is yet a part, which unleſſe you uſe all poſſible meanes to arrive to, though I cannot tell you when, or whether you ſhall or no, I ſee no ground whereby you may be ſure, as yet, to have that full proportion, either of truth or knowledge, which you ought to have; much leſſe how you can reaſonably excuſe the obſtructing, as much as in you lyes, the free paſſage of the Goſpell, the limiting and ſtinting of all ſpirituall gifts, with the quenching of Gods bleſſed Spirit, all which are ſent for the farther inſtruction and illumination.

Paul tells the ſame Corinthians, 1 *Cor.*2.14. That *the naturall man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*, for they are fooliſhneſſe unto him, neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned: And our Saviour told *Peter*, *Matth* 16.17 That *fleſh and bloud had not revealed it unto him, but his Father which was in heaven:* And St. *Peter* exhorts them to *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, 2 *Pet.*3.18. All which are undeniable arguments, that though a Chriſtian live never ſo long, yet he both may, and ought ſtill to *grow*
.13. *from grace to grace, and from knowledge to knowledge*, continually ayming,
and endeavouring, untill he arrive to a perfect man *according to the meaſure of ſtature and fulneſſe of Chriſt*, in both which reſpects an inquiſition or perſecution for matters of Religion may not be tollerated: Firſt, becauſe it would as much as in us lyes, ſtill withold ſuch ſaving truth and knowledge as yet undiſcovered, and unto which we are to attaine by degrees only, for not any of them but at firſt ſight and hearing, is accounted hereſie to moſt men, and much adoe there is before we will imbrace it: And ſecondly, in that perſecution for Religion, would render us altogether incapable of ever purging and reforming our ſelves from ſuch erronious doctrines and ſuperſtitions, as are amongſt us for the preſent, and what would this be otherwiſe then a *meer forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof*, from which *Timothy* was ordered to turne away? 2 *Tim.*3.5.7. But as was ſaid before, *Matth.*5.48. our Saviour commands us to be *perfect even as our heavenly Father is perfect*; and in that forme of prayer which he taught us, cap.6.10. we were ordered to make requeſt, *That Gods will may be done in earth as it is in heaven*, unto which height of godlineſſe we may be ſure not to be arrived, being ſtill ſo much further off, as we apprehend our ſelves to have attained it, forbearing to preſſe forwads, as St. *Paul* ſaid to the

Philipians, *Phil.*3.14,15. *I preſſe towards the marke* for the price of the high calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus: let us therefore *as many as be perfect be thus minded, and if in any thing you be otherwiſe minded God ſhall reveale even this unto you:* And S. *Peter* in his firſt Epiſtle generall, exhorts thoſe C Chriſtians, *As new borne babes to deſire the ſincere milke of the word that they may grow thereby*, not that they ſhould thinke themſelves to have attained either unto a perfection and fulneſſe of knowledge, or purity of profeſſion, both which muſt be ſuppoſed, or elſe the ground-worke and foundation whereon they build their Inquiſition houſe for ſetling a uniformity, is ſo much more unwarrantable and unſound.

The Parable of our Saviour, *Matth.* 13.29,30. wherein he forbids the pulling up the tares leſt they pull up the good wheat with them, and commands, *That both tares and wheat be let grow together till harveſt*, ſeems to me a full argument that the State ſhould not be forwards in putting any to death, ſave ſuch as are expreſſely warranted by the word of God, but this place makes eſpecially againſt perſecution for matters of Religion; for though every body can diſtinguiſh tares from corne, yet it is not ſo with hereſies and errours in point of Doctrine; beſides, the outward man may ſo conforme himſelfe if he will, as that it is impoſſible for the world to finde him out, becauſe they cannot arrive to the heart, and what ever externall meanes may be uſed, they worke only upon the body, and cannot reach the ſoule: But perſecution for Religion does not only contradict the Scripture, but is contrary to common ſenſe and reaſon, as will appeare if you conſider, that, although we ſay proverbially, *facile credimus, quod libenter volumus*; yet a man of himſelfe cannot poſſibly beleeve what he himſelfe deſires to beleeve, before his judgement and underſtanding be convinced, ſo that unleſſe it be a good argument, to prevaile upon a mans judgement and underſtanding, to ſay, beleeve this or that point of doctrine upon penalty of loſing your ears, or the like, it muſt needs be extravagant and unjuſt to practiſe it: let us not then goe againſt our owne reaſon, and the Scripture where it is ſaid, That *though Paul plant, and Apollo water, it is God* 1 C *that gives encreaſe:* And our Saviour tells us, That *no man can come to* Joh *him except the Father draw him*, that it is *the Spirit which quickneth*, and 63. that *the fleſh profiteth nothing.*

There is yet another place of Scripture which ſpeakes more plainly, letting all Inquiſitors and Perſecutors know, that though they had the ſpirit of divination and diſcerning, wherewith they could be certaine to have diſcovered ſuch as preach the Goſpell out of ſtrife and envie, and not ſincerely, yet they are not to ſilence them, but be glad that the Goſpel be preached in a weake and erronious manner, then not at all,

for even as a man that holds faſt with his hands, if his feet ſlip, will recover
himſelfe againe, ſo if Chriſt the foundation be kept, though for
the preſent they may preach and teach many a falſe doctrine, yet wee
may be certaine that all rotten unſound ſuperſtructures and erronious
tenets ſhall fall downe in Gods good time and ſeaſon, whileſt the foundation
remaines ſure for ever: *He that hath given us Chriſt, will with*
him, but at his owne good pleaſure *give us all things*; *Paul* thought this
.32 was a good argument, and ſo far bare with all mens infirmities, that as
he ſayes of himſelfe to the end he might have opportunity to preach the
9. Goſpel, *he became all things to all men, that by all meanes he might ſave*
,22. *ſome*, unto the Jews as a Jew that he might gaine the Jews, to them
that are under the Law, as under the Law, and to them that were without
Law, as without Law, that he might gaine both; and leſt you
might thinke him a libertine in all this, and without Law to God, he
tells you he was all this while *under the Law to Chriſt*, and doubtleſſe
did him no ſmall ſervice in thus complying: But that you may gueſſe
in what manner and how far forth he had been indulgent at ſuch other
times, the relation whereof we doe not finde recorded, take what he
ſaies unto the Philippians, *Phil* 1.16,17,18,19. *Some preach Chriſt even*
of envy and ſtrife, and *ſome alſo upon good will*, the one preach Chriſt of
contention, not ſincerely, ſuppoſing to adde affliction to my bonds, but the
other of *love*, knowing that I am ſet for the defence of the Goſpel:
what then? *notwithſtanding every way, whether in pretence, or in truth,*
Chriſt is preached, and I therein doe rejoyce, yea and will rejoyce, for I know
that this ſhall turne to my ſalvation through your prayers, and the ſupply
of the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt.

Yea will ſome ſay great ſhame it were if we ſhould not rejoyce that
Chriſt be truly preached in what manner ſoever; but ſuch as we ſilence
and perſecute though they confeſſe and preach Chriſt in words, yet
they hold certaine erronious tenets which ſtrike at the foundation, and
overthrow Chriſtianity: I deſire ſuch to remember thoſe Scriptures
3.9. which ſay, that, *Whoſoever is borne of God doth not commit ſin*, for his ſeed
remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin becauſe he is borne of God: *Whoſoever*
3.13 *beleeveth in him ſhall not periſh but have eternall life: And whoſoever*
4.15 *ſhall confeſſe that Jeſus is the Sonne of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in*
God: Now as we know that *David* though he committed adultery and
murder, was borne of God notwithſtanding this text, becauſe it means
only that God imputes not ſinne unto them that are borne of God; ſo
he that beleeveth in God, and confeſſeth that Jeſus is the Son of God,
though he do together with this foundation, hold certain points which
may ſeem to croſſe it, and be in a great degree erronious, but contrary
to

to his owne intention, it is both very poſſible and probable, that ſuch a one notwithſtanding ſhall not periſh, but God dwelleth in him, and he in God.

In the very Bible we finde ſeverall texts and paſſages which ſeem to thwart and contradict themſelves, yet we are certaine, that the whole Scripture being the inſpiration of one, and the ſame bleſſed Spirit, cannot but be at unity within it ſelfe, and all good Chriſtians are fully aſſured thereof, though they be not able ſometimes to make it appeare ſo to their weake and carnall underſtandings; and in ſuch caſes we have the example of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11.13. the great *Apoſtle of the Gentiles*, who though he teſtified of himſelfe, that he gave his judgement *as one* 1 C
that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithfull, *and thought that he alſo* 25
had the Spirit of God, yet having waded into the myſtery of Predeſtination, ſo far as his owne reaſon could arive, burſt out into a moſt devout admiration, *O the depth of the riches both of the Wiſdome and know-* Ro
ledge of God, how unſearchable are his judgements, and his wayes paſt fin- 33.
ding out.

In S. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. 3.28. it is ſaid, Therefore we conclude that a *man is juſtiſied by faith without the deeds of the Law*: And St. *James* ſaith, *James* 2.24. Ye ſee then how that *by workes a man is juſtified, and not by faith only*: Now as we are fully aſſured that theſe two Scriptures though they differ ſo much litterally, are notwithſtanding not only in their owne being reconcileable, but even in our ſhallow capacities and apprehenſions: And as God had good cauſe why he counted *Paul faithfull* and *put him into the Miniſtery, who was before* 1 T
a blaſphemer and perſecuter: So we may ſafely thinke, that God can 12,
much more (after the manner of men be it ſpoken) tell how to proſper their endeavours, and bring unto ſalvation, *ſuch as beleeve in him, and confeſſe Jeſus to be the Son of God*, for his word and promiſe are engaged and cannot be fruſtrated through their weakneſſes and unſoundneſſe in ſome points of Diſcipline, Doctrine, or of both: But it will be ob- O
jected, why ſhould ſuch be ſuffered to preach Chriſt, who withall mix unſound doctrine, ſince there may be teachers enough beſides, who are all orthodox and unqueſtionable? I anſwer, That this is not the true An
ſtate of the caſe, for that the Puritans or other conſcientious Chriſtians hold their owne teachers to be the ſoundeſt, and if they be ſilenced, conceive they are bound, without power of diſpencing with themſelves to heare none at all, rather then ſuch with whom they cannot poſſibly joyne or be preſent without *a doubting and condemning conſci-* Ro
ence; ſo that at the very beſt this can be but *a pulling up of good wheat to-* 23.
gether with the tares, which as was ſaid before, our Saviour would not Ma

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.8. have ſo much as hazarded and endangered; or *a doing evill that good may come of it, which is as abſolutely forbidden.*

I will therefore forbeare to make any further application of *Pauls* rejoycing ſo Chriſt were preached in whatſoever manner, but beſeech with meekneſſe all ſuch as read it, to pauſe a little and conſider, that ſince *Paul* rejoyced in whatſoever way that Chriſt was preached, *whether of contention, envy, pretence, or in truth*, how inexcuſable will all thoſe be that perſecute or ſilence ſuch as preach him in any other maner then they themſelves preſcribe, whereby many eminent abilities and gifts have been ſmothered and loſt: To the ſame purpoſe is that place in St. *Markes* Goſpel, where *John* in the name of the Apoſtles tells our Saviour, ſaying, Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out divells in thy name, and he followeth not us, and *We forbad him becauſe he followeth not us*, but Jeſus ſaid, *forbid him not, for there is no man which ſhall doe a miracle in my name that can lightly ſpeake evill of me,* he that is not againſt us, is on our part, *Marke* 9.38,39,40.

Paul tells the Hebrewes, how *He that deſpiſed Moſes law dyed without mercy under two or three witneſſes*; and askes them, *how much ſorer puniſhment they ſuppoſed ſuch ſhould be thought worthy of, who have trodden under foot the Son of God*, and counted the bloud of the Covenant wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy thing, which is a plain evidence, that though ſuch as live under the Goſpel, and neglect or deſpiſe the means of comming to the knowledge, or yet ſpeake againſt the truth thereof, deſerve greater puniſhment then thoſe that violated the law of *Moſes*, which was certaine death in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, yet he ſaies not that it ought to be ſo under the Goſpel; but though he aggravate the crime as far more heynous under the Goſpel, yet he declines to ſay they ſhould be puniſhed corporally in this life, and plainly inſinuates that it muſt be left untill the day of judgement, as appeares by the coherence with the words which follow, where he brings the
0. Lord in, ſaying, *Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence it:* and againe, *The Lord ſhall judge his people: It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God:* And this is yet more manifeſt, if we conſider that there
6. had been thouſands of thoſe which thus rejected and violated the Goſpel which then had not been puniſhed with death according to the law of *Moſes*, and yet *Paul* for all this did not blame thoſe Chriſtians for omitting to doe corporall execution on them, or leave any order that the civill Magiſtrate ſhould afterwards have ſuch power when they became Chriſtian: And if *Paul* tells *Titus* that a Biſhop muſt not
.7. be ſoone angry, nor a ſtriker; and *Peter* bids the Elders take the over-
5. ſight of Gods flocke, not being Lords over Gods heritage, but as enſamples

ſamples to the flocke; how ſhall a Presbyter that is a ſtriker, or that Lords it over the flocke of Chriſt be juſtified? or how can he be ſaid to be leſſe then a ſtriker, that paſſes ſentence of condemnation to baniſhment, impriſonment, and death, or not to Lord it over the flock of Chriſt, that impoſes laws upon their conſciences?

But did theſe perſecuters of God and good men conſider, that to be perſecuted, is a mark and ſigne of the true Church, and conſequently to perſecute, an infallible character of unſound Chriſtians and the Church malignant, in charity we ought to thinke they might likely be reclaimed, I ſhall therefore intreat them for their owne direction to call to minde, what St. *Paul* ſaith to the Galathians, *viz.* Now *we, Brethren as Iſaac was, are the children of promiſe,* but *as then he that was borne after the fleſh perſecuted him that was borne after the Spirit, even ſo it is now:* This text declares how the true Church and true Beleevers are children of the promiſe, figured out in *Abel, Iſaac* and *Jacob,* perſecuted by *Cain, Iſmael, Eſau,* and their poſterity, children of the bond-woman, teaching us in expreſſe words, that as thoſe which perſecuted in the Old Teſtament were not the Elect or children of the promiſe, ſo now the beſt ſervants of God were perſecuted under the Goſpel; which will yet appeare more plainly to ſuch as have their underſtanding darkned, if they reflect likewiſe upon theſe other Scriptures: *He that loveth not his brother is not of God,* for this is the meſſage that we heard from the beginning, that we ſhould love one another, *not as Cain, who was of the wicked one, and ſlew his brother: and wherefore ſlew he him? becauſe his works were evill, and his brothers righteous:* And our Saviour told his Diſciples, *I ſend you as ſheep in the midſt of wolves; ye ſhall weep and lament, but the world ſhall rejoyce.*

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But if the practiſe of perſecution for difference in matters of Religion were a ſigne of the true Church, then that Church were likelieſt to be the trueſt Church that did moſt perſecute others, which I beleeve will be denied by all Proteſtants, or elſe they muſt condemne themſelves, in ſuffering the Papiſts to go beyond them in perſecuting others: and ſecondly, if perſecution were a note of the true Church, it would inſtigate and encourage all States and Churches to double and encreaſe their perſecutions, untill each of them had attained to the moſt exquiſite degrees and height of cruelty and tyranny.

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Againe, though perſecution for conſcience ſake be never ſo much practiſed, it is condemned by all men in every body but themſelves, for who is there that blames himſelf for perſecuting others, or who would be contented to be perſecuted himſelfe? and ſo far is perſecution from propagating of the Goſpel, that nothing in humane appearance can

poſſibly hinder it ſo much, for the Papiſts having got the upper hand
and greateſt portion of the Chriſtian world into their power by vigour
of their perſecution, hinder the bleſſed Goſpel from being truly taught
in the ſimplicity and purity thereof; and as it is well knowne, that the
i. beſt Churches have been in errours, ſometimes *able to digeſt milke only*,
not capable of ſtrong meat, ſo by the rules and princi~~palls o~~f perſecution,
it were impoſſible to grow ſtronger, or come into the light of
truth againe, becauſe that according to ſuch diſcipline, ſuch as teach
any new truth, or but a further meaſure of former truths ſhould be perſecuted,
as it happened unto *Paul* and the other Apoſtles and Diſciples,
13 under the calumnie of ſedition, hereſie, blaſphemy, or innovation, for
.5 *Paul* himſelfe was reduced to ſay, I worſhip God after the manner
which they call hereſie: And whereas ſome will object, that the Churches
in the Primitive times were weake as being newly planted, but
that Chriſtians now adaies have attained to a larger meaſure of ſtrength
. and knowledge in the truth, I dare not ſubſcribe thereunto, and for
whatever failings, errours and falſe doctrines ſuch men ſhall prove to
have been found in the Churches of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*,
Epheſus, *Galatia*, or any of the reſt during the Apoſtles times, when
3. through weakneſſe and carnality they were ſaid to have need of milke,
it will full eaſily appeare, that, as the infallibility of the Apoſtles, their
12. diverſity and preheminencie of gifts, and miracles which they wrought,
were far more efficacious means then at any time were ſince enjoyed;
ſo none of our Proteſtant Churches at preſent, eſpecially Nationall,
but will juſtifie the Primitive, in our owne greater errours, both for
Diſcipline and Doctrine: It is true that if liberty be given for men to
to teach what they will, there will appeare more falſe Teachers then
ever, yet it were better that many falſe doctrines were publiſhed, eſpecially
with a good intention and out of weakneſſe only, then that one
ſound truth ſhould be forcibly ſmothered or wilfully concealed; and
by the incongruities and abſurdities which accompany erroneous and
unſound doctrines, the truth appears ſtill more glorious, and wins others
to the love thereof.

Neither is this complying with weake conſciences, or the tollerating
of ſeverall opinions, any other ſort of Libertiniſme, then what *Paul*
9. practiſed, when *he ſuffered all things leſt he ſhould hinder the Goſpel*, and
22. *was made all things to all, that he might ſave ſome*, at which very time hee
profeſſed himſelf notwithſtanding to live not without law to God, but
under law to Chriſt: And *Peter* tells us, *We muſt live as free*, but *not uſing
our liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſſe*, but as the ſervants of God, 1 *Pet*. 2.
7. 16. And if you demand whether Herетicks then may not be reclaimed?
I an-

I anſwer, That you both may, and ought to endeavour their reclaiming, not by compulſive courſes, but with brotherly and Chriſtian admonition and inſtructions, by evidence of Scripture in demonſtration of the Spirit, and ſuch other peaceable and quiet wayes as are warrantable by the Word of God : but for ſuch as ſay, we have tried all faire means, and none but coercive will prevaile ; if they had order to make uſe of them, how can they be ſure that forcible means would have better ſucceſſe ? and how much more blameable are they that uſe them, when they neither have commiſſion, nor aſſurance that they ſhall prevaile?

Our Saviour told his Diſciples, That *if they were of the World, the world would love his owne*, but *he had choſen them out of the world, and therefore the world hated them*, and leſt this ſhould not prove a ſufficient item to them and us, St. *Paul* tells us plainly, How *all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution :* whereto that we may be the better induced, our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount, amongſt other bleſſings pronounces this unto them, *Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall revile you and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evill againſt you falſely for my ſake*, rejoyce and be exceeding glad for great is your reward in heaven, for *ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you :* And leſt ſuch poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians ſhould be to ſeek, how to behave themſelves in ſo great a temptation and diſtreſſe, the bleſſed Spirit of God by St. *Paul* to the Romans inſtructs us, *to bleſſe ſuch as perſecute us*, ſo that in theſe and many other Scriptures, we have the practiſe of perſecution given us as a ſign to know the Church malignant by; and to be perſecuted as a love token, and moſt peculiar livery of Jeſus Chriſt to diſtinguiſh true from falſe beleevers.

And if it be objected, that then there muſt be no true Church amongſt Chriſtians, and that all of them doe perſecute one another more or leſſe, it wil notwithſtanding follow, that ſuch Chriſtian States and Churches as perſecute moſt, are moſt corrupted, and though I could hope for their ſakes which ſtill retaine it with leſſe rigour, that every ſmaller degree of perſecuting Chriſtians which differ from them in opinion, may not hinder ſuch to be true Chriſtians, though imperfect and failing in this particular, yet my earneſt deſires are, that all ſuch as are cauſers, counſellours or inſtruments promoting, or not endeavouring and diſſwading perſecution, will ſeriouſly conſider with themſelves, whether, the thus perſecuting one another by Chriſtian Churches which differ in opinions, though it ſhould not hinder them from being true Churches, yet if it may not be found, at leaſt, an errour and exceeding great blemiſh in them all, even thoſe that uſe it ſeldomeſt and in milder manner, expreſſely forbidden in ſo many places of Scripture, and continually declamed againſt by the whole proceedings of our Bleſſed Saviour, his Apoſtles, and moſt conſcientious and truly mortified Chriſtians, famous for greateſt piety and devotion in their reſpective generations.

Joh.3.19, 20,21. St. *John* ſaies, That *light is come into the world, and men loved darkneſſe rather then light becauſe their deeds were evill*, for every one that doth evill, hateth light, neither commeth to the light leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved, but *he that doth the truth commeth to the light*, that his deeds may be made manifeſt, that they are wrought in God: Methinkes we may well reſemble the true profeſſours of Jeſus Chriſt, to thoſe that ſeek the light, that the truth which they teach may be made manifeſt; and contrarywiſe ſuch to be falſe prophets and hypocrites, that hate the light leſt their beloved errours and counterfeit doctrines ſhould be diſcovered, reproved and forſaken: Indeed many a man hath been over confident, and delivered up his body to be burnt in a bad cauſe, but this ſhould make ſuch as have a good one, to gather ſo much more courage to themſelves, and not decline any lawfull triall or diſputation, whereby falſhood would be vanquiſhed, and the light of truth ſhine out, ſo much more amiable and bright, as before it had greater oppoſition.

In the ordinary courſe of the world betwixt two which are at law together, when either of them uſes meanes to prolong the ſuit, and prevent what poſſibly he can the comming to a judgement, may we not ſay, and that juſtly too, that ſuch a man hath a bad cauſe, or elſe that he hath not all his proofes and evidences in readineſſe, eſpecially if we ſuppoſe that he knew he had a Judge who both underſtood his cauſe fully, and would infallibly do him juſtice? ſurely the ſame may be ſaid and that more warrantably concerning Religion, and differences in opinion about any point thereof.

Confidence and boldneſſe prevaile ſometimes, and that not a little even in a bad cauſe, but never fail when they maintaine a good one; we Act.4.13. may ſee it in the *Acts* that both *Peter* and *John*, with the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt ſped the better for their boldneſſe, which when the Scribes, Elders, *Annas*, and all high Prieſts kindred ſaw, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled, and took knowledge that they had been with Jeſus, And beholding the man which was healed ſtanding with them, *they could ſay nothing againſt it*; and how wonderfully the cauſe proſpered hereupon appears in that fourth Chapter to the *Acts*, which is well worth reading out, and cannot by a heart truly Eph.3.12. ſanctified be paſſed over without great admiration: St. *Paul* confirmes it Phil.3.19. 20,25. unto the Epheſians, ſaying, That *through faith in Jeſus Chriſt we have boldneſſe and acceſſe with confidence*: And to the Philippians he hath yet a fuller expreſſion, where he ſayes, I know according to my earneſt expectation, and hope that *in nothing I ſhall be aſhamed, but that with all boldneſſe, as*

alwaies, ſo now alſo Chriſt ſhall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life
or death, and *having this confidence I know that I ſhall abide and continue with
you all*, for your furtherance and joy of faith: Surely as all true Beleevers
have the ſame good cauſe and Goſpel, ſo can they not poſſibly fare
worſe if they had but ſuch a faith and confidence as *Pauls* was: Now Jam. 2.20
true and lively faith cannot be without works, and the moſt eminent and
glorious worke of all, is to ſeek the propagation of it, in ſuch means and
manner as are moſt warrantable, and likelieſt by the precept and preſident
of our only wiſe Saviour, and his bleſſed Apoſtles to prove ſucceſſefull:
Oh, let us not then defer the practiſe of it any longer! doe we ſuſpect
that errour ſhould vanquiſh truth? this is ſo vaine that no man will
confeſſe ſo much, but for their full conviction if they were ſo conceited,
let them take notice what St. *Paul* ſaith to the Corinthians, *We cannot do* 2 Cor. 13.
any thing againſt the truth but for the truth; we may plot, contrive and 8.
endeavour whatſoever our owne depraved natures will ſuggeſt us to againſt
it, but great is the power of truth, and it will prevaile at laſt; or
doe we then feare that the true profeſſours may fall from their former
ſtedfaſtneſſe? it is true that ſome which once made profeſſion of the
truth may fall from that profeſſion, but ſuch, though they make profeſſion
of the truth, yet were they never true profeſſours, as St. *John* ſaies in his 1 Joh. 2.19
firſt Epiſtle, *They went out from us, but they were not of us*, for if they had
been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, but they went
out, that they might be made manifeſt, that they were not all of us: And
doubtleſſe it were much to be deſired, and all juſtifiable meanes to be
imployed, whereby hypocrites, and ſuch as are not true at heart, might
be beſt moved to diſcover themſelves of their owne accord, for then the
people of God might be kept from falling into many a ſin through their
ill example, and avoid many a temporall judgement and affliction for
holding fellowſhip and communion with them; but bleſſed be God this
is the worſt that can befall them, neither divells nor the deepeſt wiles of
wicked reprobates can poſſibly deceive the true Profeſſours Gods Elect. Mar. 24.
Our Saviour hath paſſed his word, That *not one of theſe little ones ſhall periſh*, 24.
Mat. 18.4. And my ſheep heare my voyce, and I know them, and
they follow me, and I give unto them eternall life, and *they ſhall never periſh,
neither ſhall any man pluck them out of my hand, John* 10.27, 28. And *Paul*
ſaies, *We are perſecuted, but not forſaken, caſt down, but not deſtroyed*, 2 *Cor.*
4.9. And he told *Timothy* That *the foundation of God ſtandeth ſure*, having
this ſeale, *that the Lord knoweth them that are his*, 2 *Tim.* 2, 19.

But ſince *hereſies muſt needs be*, though a woe betide the authours of Cap. 1. 87
them, how much more may we well thinke ſhould there be a Liberty of
Conſcience? ſince the authours inſtead of woe, may be certain of a bleſſing,

ſing, and nothing can more manifeſt the truth, when all ſuch as for feare of impriſoning, fining, corporall puniſhment, or any worldly prerogative had heretofore made profeſſion thereof, would now appear in their own colours, and follow the falſe calls of their more falſe teachers, leaving truth to herſelfe, and ſuch only as did imbrace her in true ſincerity of heart; and yet this is not all the benefit which would accrue hereby, the greateſt and beſt part is ſtill behinde; for as in the Primitive times, when

Not. Scribes, Phariſes, and all the learned Doctors both Jews and Gentiles, diſputed and oppoſed the truth with more liberty and freedome, it became then much more famous and prevailing, untill the myſtery of iniquity undertooke the protecting of it by the Civill Sword, which if it

Joh.3.8. were but ſheathed againe, and the Bleſſed Spirit, which bloweth where it liſteth, not reſiſted, we might even in theſe dayes with Gods aſſiſtance, expect to ſee victorious trophees, and multitudes of Chriſtians ſet at liberty, and redeemed out of *Babylon* to the ſpeedier downfall of Antichriſt.

Object. But ſome will ſay that the learned and wiſeſt men have alwaies been and are ſtill of opinion, that it is no good policie to ſuffer ſo many ſeverall Religions to be publickly profeſſed in one and the ſame Kingdome and juriſdiction, becauſe that though many men may be able with Scripture to defend their owne Religion, and others perhaps ſtedfaſt and obſtinate enough in their opinions what ever they be, yet if contrary tenets may be debated freely, and made profeſſion of without controle, ſome numbers more or leſſe amongſt ſuch multitudes of people, either by importunity, worldly advantages, or in that their ignorance or little knowledge in ſpirituall matters, is not able to withſtand the arguments which are urged againſt them, muſt needs be ſeduced and led away from

Anſw. the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law: Whereto I anſwer, That the advice of wiſe and learned men if they be otherwiſe alſo as well qualified, is to be far preferred before that of ignorant and leſſe wiſe, but ſuch whoſe affections and carnall luſts are mortified, and whoſe guifts are ſanctified, theſe mens counſells ought to take place before the deepeſt Polititians of State, or grand Rabbies of the Law or Goſpel: worldly wiſdome and humane learning are both uſefull and expedient, when they concur with Scripture, not againſt it: It was the argument of the Jews againſt our

Joh.7.48. Saviour and his Apoſtles, That *the Scribes, Phariſes and great ones beleeved not on him*; the Papiſts urged the like, that all the learned Doctors and profoundeſt ſchollars throughout the Chriſtian world were of their opinion againſt *Luther* and the firſt Reformers, and although we all acknowledge of how little account and force this argument was then, yet is it now as much ſtood upon, and altogether as weakly grounded, even by the greateſt part of Reformed Churches, againſt ſuch as yet ſtrive for, and endeavour only a further Reformation: ſurely if ſuch would but conſider of what low condition and meane eſtate the Apoſtles were, they would never think the worſe of truth, becauſe it was held out unto them by men of moſt inferiour ranke and quality, this would make ſuch as are Scripture wiſe to thinke the better of it, for who are likelieſt to have ſpiritualll things diſcovered to them, then ſuch as are ſpirituall themſelves? and who likelieſt to be ſpirituall, then ſuch as are poore, baſe and abject both in the eyes of others and their owne opinions? Surely St. *Paul* ſpeaks plaine to this purpoſe when he ſaies, *Not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called*; But God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe, and God hath choſen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and *baſe things* of the world, and *things which are deſpiſed* hath God choſen: And againe, *where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer* of the world? hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdome of this world? And to the Corinthians he gives a reaſon why God made uſe of men of ſuch low ranke and eſteem in the world, to be the chiefeſt inſtruments of propagating the Goſpel, when he ſayes, *We have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellencie of the power may be of God, and not of us*, 2 *Cor*.4.7. And in another place he ſaies, Chriſt ſent me to preach the Goſpel, *not with wiſdome of words*, leſt the croſſe of Chriſt ſhould be made of none effect, 1 *Cor*.1.17. If theſe paſſages of Scripture with ſundry others were ſeriouſly conſidered, by a minde prepared to ſubmit to Gods good will and pleaſure what ever it were, when it ſhould be diſcovered unto him, ſuch a ſoule would not be ſwayd, and led away with any carnall priviledges or worldly circumſtances how plauſible ſoever, ſince all ſuch are but *vanity and vexation of ſpirit*, as the wiſe man aſſures us: evidence of Scripture is that only which ought to be our guide in what we do or ſay, our ſupreame rule or touchſtone to make triall of what we heare or ſee, according whereunto if we proceed, whatſoever be alledged to the contrary, we may cleerly finde, That *perſecution for matters of Religion does plainly croſſe ſo many places of Scripture, murders ſo many of Gods Saints, and ſo much hinders the propagation of the Goſpel, as no other erronious tenet or hereſie whatſoever: for if the Goſpel had but a free paſſage, and the true Profeſſours liberty to teach and publiſh it, this only as a ſovereigne remedy and counterpoyſon, would prevaile againſt all hereſies, unleſſe you will grant that errour may poſſibly vanquiſh truth:* and though our owne fond fancies ſhould ſuggeſt never ſo many inconveniences to enſue thereon, we ought to reſt ſatisfied with ſo great a manifeſtation of Gods revealed will, no waies attempting any thing, or cleaving to ſuch opinions, which either directly, or by rationall conſequence and induction may hinder the preaching of the Goſpel to all Nations.

Act.4.13.
Matth.4.
18.21.

1 Cor.1.
26,27,28.

Ver.20.

Eccleſ.1.
2.14.

Note.

If Kings or States may lawfully enact a Religion, or ſettle any point of faith to be beleeved and practiſed by force and virtue of a new law, then ought all ſubjects to be conformable thereunto, and ſo become lyable to change and alter their Religion, ſo often as the State and chiefeſt Councell of the Land ſhall deem juſt and requiſite; for as our predeceſſours could not make a law to binde their ſucceſſours irrevocably, or longer then they pleaſed themſelves in civill matters, much leſſe in what concerns the Conſcience; ſo neither can we that are now living engage our poſterity in any act, but what they may repeal at pleaſure, with the ſame liberty and power by which it was made, ſince the whole Kingdome being a body politicke indowed with a ſupremacie, cannot have greater or leſſe power over it ſelfe at one time then another; wherefore ſince it is our duty to think very reverently of Laws and Acts when once eſtabliſhed by the higheſt Court, yet if we conſider that they themſelves doe not aſſume infallibility, that both they, Synods, and chiefe Generall Councells have thought it expedient and juſt to repeal, alter, and ſometimes enact Laws, concerning Diſcipline and Doctrine quite contrary to their predeceſſours, by which means a people in their life time have been compelled to change Religion twice or thrice; my humbleſt deſires beg leave to proſtrate themſelves in meekneſſe and moſt ſubmiſſive manner unto the three eſtates in Parliament, That all former acts which countenance perſecution for matters of Religion may be repealed, and Liberty of Conſcience which is the greateſt liberty the Goſpel brings, reſtored, leſt whileſt the prevailing party of *Proteſtants in England* think it lawfull to force other Proteſtants, becauſe leſſe in number, and differing from them in opinion, to change Religion; God in juſtice permit Papiſts to doe the like with *Proteſtants in Ireland*, as well for our ſins as their owne, to the further deſolation of both Kingdomes.

FINIS.

JOHN LILBURNE

A COPIE OF A LETTER TO MR. WILLIAM PRINNE ESQ.

1645

A Copie of a Letter appeared in 1645, without separate title-page, license or imprint. Lilburne's name appears at the end with the date, January 7, 1645. On the first page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason wrote "Jan: 15 1644 [1645] London." The typography suggests that the work was printed by Richard Overton or someone associated with him (see Volume I, pages 76 ff.). The text is here reproduced from the copy of the original edition in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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Jan: 15 1644
London:

A COPIE
OF A
LETTER,

BRITISH MUSEUM

Written by *John Lilburne* Leut. Collonell.
To Mr. *William Prinne* Eſq.

(UPON THE COMING OUT OF HIS LAST BOOKE, Intituled *Truth triumphing over Falſhood, Antiquity ver Novelty*)
In which he laies down five Propoſitions, which he deſires
to diſcuſſe with the ſaid Mr. *Prinne*.

Sir,

YOU and I have both been *Sufferers*, by the hands of the *Prelates*, the comnon and open Enemies of Chriſts Kingdome; and the eyes of the people of God are therefore the more upon us, and are ſubject with leſſe jealouſie to receive thoſe things that come from us for truth, not immitating the *noble Bereans*, who dayly ſearched the Scripture, to ſee whether thoſe things they heard, were according thereunto or no, *Acts* 17. 11. the *Law and the Teſtimony of Chriſt* being the ſtreight Rule, by which we are to walke eſpeacially in matters of worſhip, and whoſoever he be that practices and ſpeakes not according to this Rule, *it is becauſe there is no light of truth in him*, Eſa.8.20. I have ſeen ſome of your late *wri-*

things, which a little diving into, I have found them full of bitter and unſavoury Language againſt the poore Saints of God, and the unſpotted wais of Jeſus Chriſt, and find in your Confidence very great but your Arguments very weake and unſound: and having received a Talent from the Lord, I conceived my ſelfe bound in Conſcience to imploy it, and lay it out for my Maſters beſt advantage) and I was determined ſome weekes ſince, to have writ you a few lines in a publique way, and to have told you, *you erre not knowing the Scriptures. Math.*22. 29. (but being that you, and the *Blacke-Coates* in the *Synod*, have not dealt fairly with your Antagoniſts in ſtopping the *Preſſe* againſt us, while things are in debate, yea robbing us of our Liberty (as we are Subjects) in time of freedome, when the *Parliament* is ſitting, who are ſufficiently able to puniſh that man (whatſoever he be) that ſhall abuſe his penne. So that whill we are with the hazard of our deareſt lives, fighting for the *Subjects Liberty*, we are brought into *Egyptian* bonds in this and other partilulars, by the *Blacke-Coates*, who I am affraid, will prove more cruell *Taskmaſters* then their dear fathers the *Biſhops*: who Cowardly ſit at home, in my apprehenſion, for no other end but to breed faction and diviſion amongſt the well affected to the *Parliament*, promoting thereby their owne intereſt, which is *Lazines*, *Pride*, *Covetouſnes* and *Domination*, endevouring to lay lower then the duſt a generation of men whom they falſely call Sectaryes, that have in the uprightneſſe of their hearts without *Synodianlike* ends, ventred all they have in the world for the good of the *Parliament*, and the Common-wealth of England, and who may bid defiance to all their Adverſaries that brand them with unfaithfulnes. ſo that by means of which, I haue not been able that way yet, to accompliſh my earneſt deſire: and truly it argues no manhood nor valour in you nor the *Blacke-Coates*, by force to throw us downe and ty our hands, & then to fall upon us to beat and buffet us, for if you had not beene men that had been affraid of your cauſe, you would have been willing to have fought and contended with us upon even ground and equall termes, namely that the Preſſe might be as open for us as for you, and as it was at the beginning of this *Parliament*, which I conceive the *Parliament* did of purpoſe, that ſo the freeborne *Engliſh*

Subjects might enjoy their Liberty and Priviledge, which the Biſh: ops had learned of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* to rob them of, by locking it up under the Key of an *Imprimatur*, in whoſe tyrannicall ſteps the Synod treades, ſo that you and they thinke you may raile at us *cum privilegio*, and ranke us amongſt the worſt and baſeſt of men, as rooters up of Parliaments and diſturbers of *States* and Common welthes, and ſo thinke to carry it away without controule, but it may be you will be miſtaken, for though wee cannot print ſo faſt as you, we can ſpeake and lay downe as ſtrong Argnments for our ſelves, as you can for your ſelves, and therefore being deſirous to try a fall with you, though one of your freinds not long ſince told me, *there was as great diſproportion betwixt you and me, to write upon controverting the things of God, as there is betwixt a tall* Ceder *and a litle ſhrub*: unto which I replyed, *goe you, and tell the tall* Ceder, *the litle Shrub will have about with him*: And therefore, that I may be as good as my word, I ſend you theſe enſuing Propoſitions, upon which I will diſpute with you, hand to hand before any Auditory in and about the City of *London* when and where you will chuſe, giving me foure or five dayes warning before hand.

Firſt, *That the Ordinances, Lawes, Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of the Jewes were types and figures, which were only to laſt and endure till the coming of Chriſt, which he by his death did aboliſh, Gen.* 49.10. *John* 19.30. *Acts* 15.24.29. & 21.21:28. *Heb*.7.11:12. & 10. 1. *and he himſelfe with his Inſtitutions in the New Teſtament are the Antitypes of them, Acts* 3.22. *Heb*.1.8. & 6.20. & 7.17.18.19. & 8.1 2.6. & 9.11.12.

Secondly, *That Jeſus Chriſt being appoynted by God his Father to be Mediatour, hath a Kingdome given unto him, Dan.* 2. 13.14. *Mat.* 2.2 & 28.18. Luke 1.32.33. Heb.1.8. *which he hath erected, and ſet up in the world, amongſt his Saints, where viſibly and ſpiritually he governeth, ruleth and dwelleth*, *Pſal.* 2. 6. 22. 27. 28: *and* 46. 4: *and* 48.1.&c. & 132. 13.14. *Eſa*.6.9 7. & 33.23. *and according to that truſt* the Father hath repoſed in him Acts 3. 22. 23. *he hath been faithfull to every thing required of him*, Heb.3.25. *compared with* Exod. 29.43. *and unto this his viſible* Kingdome *by his laſt Will and Teſtament he hath bequeathed perfect and compleate Lawes, which are unalterable and unchangeable, in all times, ages and places by any of the ſonnes of men*, *Acts* 1.3. 2*Theſ*.2.15. 1*Tim*.6.13.14.20. 2*Tim* 3.15.16.17. *Heb*.10.28. 29. & 12. 25.

Thirdly, that the matter, forme, Lawes, *Worſhip, Ordinances and Adminiſtrations of this* Kingdome *are not carnall, nor of this world, but all and every one of them ſpirituall, John*.4.22.23. *&* 18.36. *Act*.1.15. *&* 2.41.47. *&* 11.23.24. *Rom*.1.7. 1*Cor*.1.2. *& ch*.5: 2*Cor*.2.6.7.8.

Fourthly, that no Parliament, Councell, Synod, Emperour, King, nor Majeſtrate hath any ſpirituall Authority, or juriſdiction over this Kingdome, or the Subjects thereof, Mat. 20.25.27. 1*Cor*.4.5. *Epheſ*.1.21.22 23. *and* 5.24.25. *Col*.4.17. 1*Pet*.6.5.3. *Rev*.17.17.

Fiftly, that to perſecute for conſcience is not of nor from God, but of and from the Divell, and Antichriſt, Eſ.1.2.3.4. *&* 11. 6: 7:9. *Micah* 4. 2.3. *Luke* 9.54.55, 2*Cor*.10.4. 1*Tim*.1.20. *Rev*.13.2.4.15 16.17.

Sir, In your laſt Booke that you put out, you ſpend a great deale of paines in citing old ruſty Authours, to prove that Kings, Councels, Synods and States have for ſo many hundred yeares medled with matters of Religion, I grant you they have; but I demaund of you, by what Right, or by what Authority out of the Word of God they have ſo done? Hath God the Father, or Jeſus Chriſt his Son given them any allowance in this? Or have they not hereby rather fulfilled the Propheſies of the Scripture, which ſaith, (*Rev.* 17.17.) that *the Kings of the Earth ſhall give their power unto the Beaſt, till the Word of God be fulfilled*, which they have done in aſſiſting the *Pope*, to joyne the *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Civill State* together, making the golden Lawes of Chriſt, to depend upon the leaden Lawes of man; yea, upon ſuch Lawes, as was juſt ſutable to their tyrannicall luſts, and which might the moſt advance their wicked ends and deſignes, and in the doing of this, they have ſet up a perfect Antichriſt againſt Gods Chriſt: yea, *England* is not free from this; for though King *Henry the eight* did ſhake of the *Popes Supremacy*, yet by the adviec of the

Clergie, the ſworne enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, he aſſumed the ſame, calling himſelfe *Head in all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall and Civill*, and ſo though he juſtled out the Pope, he ſet himſelfe in the Throne of Chriſt, and his Succeſſours have done the ſame, for oppoſing of which, the Saints that were burnt in Queen *Maries* dayes have not only ſmarted, but alſo thoſe that were hanged and murdered in Priſons in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, and thoſe that were baniſhed and deſtroyed in King *James* his dayes, and my ſelfe and many others, that have ſuffered worſe then death in King *Charles* his dayes, and this is the great Controverſie, that God contends with the whole Earth for, and for which God will make the greateſt of Princes and States to *taſt a Cup of trembling*, yea, and to *drinke the dregs of his fury and wrath*; for he will give people and Nations for his Saints, *Eſa.* 43.3.4.14. And if *England* drinke yet deeper of this Cup, amongſt other cauſes, they may thanke Mr. *Prinne* for it who hath incited them to wage war with the King of Saints, (and his redeemed ones) who will *daſh all the Nations of the Earth in peeces* in being revenged of them, for that which they have done unto them already in this particular, *Rev.* 18.*ch.* & 19.1.2. For *Sir*, let me tell you, it is the incommunicable Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt alone to be King of his Saints, and Law-giver to his Church and people, and to raigne in the ſoules and conſciences of his choſen ones, it being too high a throne for all the creatures in the world to raigne in: and therefore, were your eyes but open, it would make you quake and tremble, to conſider what you have done, in endeavouring to ſet the Potentates of the Earth together by the eares with Chriſt (who is to rule all Nations, *Rev.* 12.5.) to plucke his Crowne from his head, his Scepter out of his hand, and his Perſon out of his Throne of State, that his Father hath given him to raigne glorioufly in.

Oh Sir! conſider the time is not long, before Jeſus Chriſt will come againe in glory tryumphantly, and ſay it out of his own mouth before the eyes of the ſonnes of men, *bring thoſe mine enemies before me, that will not have me to rule over them, that I may ſlay them*, *Luke* 19.17.

Sir, If your Poſitions be true, *that there is no rule left in the world, how we may worſhip God, but that Kings and States may ſet up what*

Religion they pleaſe, or may mould it to the maners of their people; and Queen *Mary* did juſtifiably in burning the *Saints* in her dayes that would not ſtoope and ſubmit to that Religion ſhe and her Parliament had ſet up: Truly, had *I* not ſeen your name to your Bookes, I ſhould rather have judged them a Papiſts or a Jeſuites then Mr. *Prinnes*, and without doubt the Pope when he ſees them will Cannoniʒe you for a Saint, for throwing downe his enemie Chriſt, who you ſay, hath been leſſe faithfull then *Moſes*, and ſo had need of the Pope, or ſome others to ſupply what he hath been deficient in; Surely you have given away your *ears*, & ſuffered as a buſie body in oppoſing the King and the Prelates; without all doubt, all is not gold that gliſters; for were you not a man, that had more then truth to looke after, namely your owne ends and particular intereſt, which I am afraid you ſtrive more to ſet up then a publike good, you ſhould rather importuned the Parliament, to have continued their favours and reſpects to that people, that cannot proſtrate their conſciences to mans deviſes though never ſo great and famous; (and who yet with their bodies and eſtates to the utmoſt of their power, yea and divers of them beyond their abilities) have done the Parliament as ſinceare, upright, faithfull and good ſervice as either your ſelfe or any generation of men in *England* whatſoever they be) then to enforce them to deſtroy them: But truly the Son of God, and his ſaints (thoſe beloved Jewels of his) are but a litle beholden to you, that will not ſuffer his ranſomſed ones to enjoy the Liberty of their Conſcience to ſerve their Lord and King, that hath bought them with his owne blood, [are you not in this as cruell a *Taskmaſter* as *Pharaoh*] nor to have footing in the Land of their Nativity, though Chriſt himſelfe hath given them a true right to all things preſent in this world, and all things in that is to come, 1Cor. 2.21.22.23. and they themſelves (many thouſand of them) have endeavoured more then your ſelfe to redeem their native Countrey from bondage and ſlavery with their deareſt blood: And therefore I ſay, the Lord judge betwixt you and us in this particular.

Sir, It may be inſtead of ſatisfying my deſire, you'll run and complaine to the Parliament: and preſſe them upon their Covenant to take vengeance upon me, if you doe I weigh it not; for I bleſſe God

I am fitted to doe, or ſuffer whatſoever the Parliament ſhall impoſe upon me, but if you do, take thoſe two along with you.

First, *That I am not againſt the Parliaments ſetting up a State-Government for ſuch a Church as they ſhall thinke fit, to make the generality of the Land members of, for I for my part leave them to themſelves, to doe what they ſhall thinke good, ſo that they leave my Conſcience free to to the Law and Will of my Lord and King.*

Secondly, *If you put them in mind of their Covenant, tell them, I thinke they have ſworne to root out all Popery, and therefore have lately aboliſhed the* Common Prayer (*that great Idoll) but yet have eſtabliſhed* Tythes, *&c. the very root and ſupport of popery, which I humbly conceive, is a contradiction to their* Covenant, *and which wilbe a greater ſnaire then the* Common Prayer *to many of the pretious conſciences of Gods people, whoſe duty is in my judgement, to dye in a priſon before they act or ſtoop unto ſo diſhonourable a thing as this is to their Lord and Maſter, as to maintaine the* Blacke-coates *with* Tythes, *whom they looke upon as the profeſſed enemies of their Annoynted Chriſt, he that pays Tythes, is bound to the whole Law of Tythes, in which there was a* Lambe *to be brought for a* Sin-offering, *which is aboliſhed; alſo he that was to take Tythes, was one that was to offer ſacrifice dayly for ſin, which if any do ſo now it is to deny Chriſt come in the fleſh, and to be the alone ſacrifice for ſin by his death, and ſo overthrow all our comfort, joy and hope.* So deſiring to receive your Anſwer to the things I propound to you, I reſt

LONDON, this 7. *Jan.*
164~~5~~ 1644

Yours more then you are
the Truthes

JOHN LILBURNE.

FINIS.

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[WILLIAM WALWYN]

A HELPE TO THE RIGHT UNDERSTANDING OF A DISCOURSE CONCERNING INDEPENDENCY

1645

A Helpe to the right understanding of a Discourse concerning Independency appeared anonymously, without license or imprint, in 1645. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason added "Feb: 6th London." The title probably refers to William Prynne's *Independency Examined* (September 26), 1644, though the author also deals in some detail with Prynne's *Truth Triumphing* (January 2), 1645. For evidence of Walwyn's authorship, see Appendix A. The text is here reproduced from the copy of the original edition in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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A Helpe to the right underſtanding of a

DISCOURSE CONCERNING INDEPENDENCY.

Lately publiſhed by

WILLIAM PRYN

OF

Lincolnes Inne, Eſquire.

PROV. 12. 13.

The evill man is ſnared by the wickedneſſe of his lips, but the juſt man ſhall come out of adverſity.

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fol: 64

London
Printed *Anno Dom.*
1644.

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A helpe to the right underſtanding of a Diſcourſe concerning INDEPENDENCY, &c.

As it is a very great benefit to the world when wiſe and conſiderate men, ſuffer for maintenance of a juſt cauſe: ſo alſo it proveth oftentimes very prejudiciall to a Nation, when raſh inconſiderate men, wiſe only in their owne ſtrong conceits, doe ſuffer, though for a cauſe as juſt as common freedome it ſelfe: becauſe ſuffering winneth reputation to the perſon that ſuffereth, whereby his ſayings, opinions, and writings carry authority with them: and though never ſo much blended with ſlightneſſe, arrogance, impurity, violence, error, and want of charity: yet make they deep impreſſion in the minds of many well meaning people, and ſway them to the like, or diſlike of things: not as they are really good, or palpably evill in themſelves, but according to the gloſſe, or dirt, that ſuch men through ignorance, impatience, or malice caſt upon them.

For inſtance whereof, I am ſomewhat troubled that I muſt alledge Mr. *William Pryn*, who to his great commendation in the late arbitrary times ſuffered for the maintenance of the juſt liberties of his Country: but in a great example of late it is too ſadly proved that he that did the greateſt ſervice, may live to doe the greateſt miſchiefe: and I am fully inſtructed. That only perſeverance in well-doing, is praiſe-worthy; and therefore I conceive I may without breach of charity, be as bold with him as with any other man whatſoever: that others may learne by me to reſpect good men no longer then they continue ſo.

Of late he is fallen upon ſo unhappy a ſubject (The difference of judgement in matters of Religion) and hath ſo totally engaged himſelfe therein, that even men who have formerly had him in great repute for integrity, begin to doubt his ends; ſuppoſing that he ſtrikes in with the riſing party in hope to raiſe himſelfe with them, and by them; and that he is carried away with that infirmity unto which men of his tribe have been much ſubject.

Others there are that conceive he is defective only in his underſtanding, and eaſily out-witted, and wrought to doe that, which he intended not to do, charitably hoping by his endeavours in the argument of Church government, that he really intended the reconciling of all parties, and that he hath unhappily wrought a contrary effect, and made the diviſion greater, through his want of judgement, and naturally paſſionate weakneſſe: inconſiderately engaging, and (being engaged) and proſecuting with violence: and they argue it to be ſo, from his publiſhing Romes maſter-piece; and the Archbiſhops Diary; intending, no doubt, to blazon the vileneſſe of that Arch Incendiary to the world; whereas to an adviſed Reader, it will be evident that the firſt is framed of purpoſe to lay the deſigne of all our troubles upon the Papiſts; and make the Archbiſhop ſuch an enemy thereunto, as that they plotted to take away his life; as if Satan were divided againſt Satan; and his

Diary is ſo ſubtilly contrived, as that among thoſe from whom he expecteth honour, it cannot faile to worke moſt powerfully thereunto, ſo great are his good workes therein expreſſed, ſo large are his pious intentions, ſo watchfull over his wayes, ſo ſeldome offending, ſo penitent after offences, ſo devout in prayer, ſo learned and patheticall in his expreſſions; that to any that are but tainted with the leaſt Prelaticall ſuperſtition, he will appeare a Saint, if not equall to *Noah*, *Lot* and *David*, yet full parallel with the moſt holy Primitive Fathers; eſpecially when they ſhall conſider that theſe his works were publiſhed by his greateſt enemy, which was the Archbiſhops Maſter-piece indeed, being both written of purpoſe to be publiſhed in their beſt ſeaſon, and by a perſon that ſhould moſt advantage the deceit: if it had not been ſo, they had eaſily been fiend or concealed, paſt his finding: no man can thinke the Biſhop ſo impolitick, as after ſo long impriſonment, not to be warned concerning his notes.

Others judge him to be much of the Archbiſhops ſpirit, his late adverſary, and feare that if he had equall power to that he once had, he would exceed him in cruelty of perſecution; and their reaſon is, becauſe he is ſo violently buſie already, egging and inciting the Parliament, like their evill Genius, to acts of tyranny againſt a people he knows innocent: how much more would he rage againſt them had he that command of cenſure, fine, pillory, impriſonment and baniſhment, which the Archbiſhop unjuſtly uſurped; eſpecially ſince his rage againſt them has ſo exceeded all bounds of modeſty already, as to affirme that their writings are *deſtructive to the very being of Parliaments, and as bad or worſe then the Popiſh Gunpowder-plot*, and to tearme their honeſt and ſubmiſſe demeanours, *Inſolencies, unparalleld publicke violations and impeachments of the rights and priviledges of Parliament, and of the tranquility and ſafety of our Church and State.* I am at ſtand Methinks, and cannot but grieve within my ſelfe to conſider how full ſwolne with bitter malice, yea and the very poyſon of Aſpes, that breaſt muſt needs be from whence proceeds ſuch malevolent and ſcandalous ſpeeches, yet ſo groſſely untrue and unſutable to the ſpirits of the Independents.

Men likewiſe ſay that this muſt needs proceed from ſpleene: for if he were a really conſcientious man he would firſt pull the beame out of his own eye, as he is a Lawyer, and examine his owne wayes in the courſe of his practiſe, or ſet out ſomething to ſet out the unlawfulneſſe of tythes, as learned Mr. *Selden* hath done. Mr. *Pryn* profeſſeth the true Chriſtian Religion, and that moſt zealouſly, yet continueth to take fees for pleading mens cauſes, a thing that the vertuous men amongſt the very heathens accounted baſe, and would doe it gratis: and what fees taketh he? no leſſe then treble the value of what is taken by pleaders in Popiſh Countries; but he taketh as little as any man of his calling, and no more but what is lawfull for him to take: therein, ſay they, conſiſts the miſery of the Common-wealth, with all other the extreame abuſes of our Laws, the very way of the ending of controverſies, being ſo totally pernicious and full of vexation: that were he truly conſcientious for the good of the whole Nation, as he pretendeth, he would have laid open to the Parliament, how improper it is that our Laws ſhould be writen in an unknowne language, that a plaine man cannot underſtand ſo much as a Writ without the helpe of Councell; how prejudiciall it is that for ending a controverſie, men muſt travell Terme after Terme from all quarters of the Land to London, tiring their perſons and ſpirits, waſting their eſtates, and beggering their families; tending to nothing but the vexation of the people, and enriching of Lawyers; with a little labour had he been ſo vertuouſly diſpoſed, he could have diſcovered the corrupt originall thereof, and have layed open all the abſurdities therein, and ſhewed the diſagreement thereof to the rules of Chriſtianity: he could alſo have ſhewed to the Parliament what of our Lawes themſelves are unneceſſary, what are prejudiciall to good men, and have moved for reducing all to an agreement with Chriſtianity: were he (ſay they) truly pious, and could deny himſelfe, this he would have done, though he had thereby made himſelfe equall to men of low degree, both in eſtate, food, and rayment: yea though for his livelihood hee had beene conſtrained to have laboured with his hands, &c. This indeed had beene a proper worke for him a Chriſtian Lawyer in a time of Reformation: What needed he to have meddled againſt the Independent and Separation, there being ſo many learned Divines (as hee himſelfe eſteemes them) ſitting in Councell ſo neare the Parliament, which ſhewes him to bee too officious?

And as concerning Church-Government: If hee had really intended the good of the Nation, and the weale of all peaceable minded men, he would have had in minde ſuch conſiderations as theſe.

The Parliament are now upon ſetling the affaires of the Church, a thing of a very nice and dainty nature, eſpecially being undertaken in a time of a homebred Warre: If it be not very adviſedly and cautiouſly done, it may ſoone divide the wel-affected party within it ſelfe, then which nothing can be more pernitious and deſtructive: already I have ſeene ſome that have laid downe Armes, and many withdraw their perſons and eſtates into forreigne parts, for no other cauſe but for being diſturbed or diſcouraged in exerciſing of their conſciences in matters of Religion: And it was but thus in the Prelaticall time. I finde by my ſelfe, that Chriſtians cannot live, though they ſhould enjoy all naturall freedome and content, where they are not free to worſhip God in a way of Religion: And I finde alſo by my ſelfe that Chriſtians cannot worſhip God in any way but what agreeth with their underſtandings and conſciences; and although I may be at liberty to worſhip God according to that way which the Parliament ſhall ſet up for a generall rule to the whole Nation; yet if I were not perſwaded that I might lawfully ſubmit thereunto, all the torments in the World ſhould not enforce mee: and this I finde to bee the caſe of many conſcientious people, very well affected to the Parliament and to common freedome: Men that have ſpent their eſtates, and hazarded their lives as freely in defence of juſt Government, as any men whatſoever; and whether they are under the names of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Separation, Independents, or Antinomics; wee have had all their moſt affectionate helpe in throwing down Epiſcopacy and arbitrary government: men they are that ſtill remaine in moſt oppoſition to the Popiſh and malignant parties, ſomewhat we muſt doe for the eaſe of theſe our brethren, it muſt not be in the ſettlement of our Reformation that they remaine under the ſame reſtraint or moleſtation for their conſciences as they were in the Prelaticall time; we muſt doe as we would be done unto: if any ſort of them were greater in number then we, and had authority to countenance them, we ſhould eſteem it hard meaſure, to be reſtrained from exerciſing our Religion according to our conſciences, or to be compelled by fines, impriſonments, or other puniſhments, to worſhip contrary to our conſciences, we muſt beare with one anothers infirmities; no condition of men in our dayes have an infallibility of judgement: every one ought to be fully perſwaded in his owne minde of the lawfulneſſe of the way wherein he ſerveth God; if one man obſerve a day to the Lord, and others not; and both out of conſcience to God, both are allowed by the Apoſtle; and the one is not to moleſt, no not to deſpiſe or condemne, *Rom.* 14. *v.* 3. much leſſe compell the other to his judgement, becauſe whatſoever is not of faith or full aſſurance of minde is ſin: had Mr. *Pryn* debated thus with himſelfe, he had ſhewed himſelfe a true Diſciple of Chriſt and his Apoſtle: differing opinions would not then have appeared ſuch abominable, damnable things in his ſight: The dealing of our Saviour with thoſe moſt erronious Sadduces, would have come into his mind, they beleeved that there was neither Angell nor Spirit, and that there was no reſurrection: Opinions as contrary to the current of the then Interpreters, as any in our time, and yet they profeſſed it openly, as appeareth by their attempting our Saviour, and were as unreproved of him as of authority; he reſolves their queſtion by an anſwer which removed that abſurdity which they thought impoſſible: briefly telling them, That they neither marry nor are married, but as the Angels of God in heaven; uſing them gently, without threats or reproaches.

If Mr. *Pryn* had thought of this Subject, with ſuch like conſiderations, he would ſoone have ſeen, T*hat the people of a Nation in chuſing of a Parliament cannot confer more then that power which was juſtly in themſelves: the plain rule being this :* T*hat which a man may not voluntarily binde himſelfe to doe, or to forbear to doe, without ſinne :* T*hat he cannot entruſt or refer unto the ordering of any other: Whatſoever (be it Parliament, Generall Councels, or Nationall Aſſemblies:) But all things concerning the worſhip and ſervice of God, and of that nature; that a man cannot without wilfull ſin, either binde himſelfe to doe any thing therein contrary to his underſtanding and conſcience: nor to forbeare to doe that which his underſtanding and conſcience bindes him to performe: therefore no man can refer matters of Religion to any others regulation. And what cannot be given, cannot be received: and then as a particular man cannot be robbed of that which he never had; ſo neither can a Parliament, or any other juſt Authority be violated in, or deprived of a power which cannot be entruſted unto them.*

That Emperours, and Kings, and Popes, have aſſumed an abſolute power over Nations in matters of Religion, need not to have beene ſo laboriouſly proved; nor that Councels and Parliaments have done the like: the matter is what they have done of right: who knowes not that all theſe have erred as often as they did ſo: our preſent Parliament have greater light then any former, and propoſe to themſelves to abandon what ever former Parliaments have either aſſumed, or done upon miſ-information; and have not yet declared themſelves to diſſent from the fore recited rule: and then Mr. *Pryn* may conſider, whether he hath not extreamly miſpent his time, and with much uncharitableneſſe injured that faithfull ſervant of God, and ſincere lover of his Country, Mr. *John Goodwin*, a man that to my knowledge, and to the knowledge of many, values neither life nor livelihood, could he therewith, or with loſſe thereof, purchaſe a peaceable liberty to his Country, or a juſt Parliamentary government; ſo far is he, or that other worthy man Mr. *Burton*; or any Independent, Anabaptiſt, Browniſt, or any of the Separation now extant, from deſerving either thoſe ſlight, but arrogant expreſſions of his in his ſaid Epiſtle, telling the honourable Parliament, That he knows not what evill Genius, and Pithagorian Metempſychoſis, the Antiparliamentary ſoules formerly dwelling in our defunct Prelats earthly Tabernacles, are tranſmigrated into, and revived into a new generation of men (ſtarted up of late amongſt us) commonly knowne by the name of Independents: ſuch bumbaſt inckhorne tearmes, ſavouring ſo much of a meer pedanticke, as ill beſeemeth his relation to that ſupream power of Parliament: And thogh thoſe Independents, for the moſt part are ſuch by his owne acknowledgement, whoſe affections and actions have demonſtrated them to be reall and cordiall to the Parliament and Church of England, for which (ſaith he) and for their piety they are to be highly honoured, yet hath not he ſo much charity as to ſhew any inclination that they ſhould be relieved in their juſt deſire of Chriſtian liberty; but proſecutes all thoſe their ſeverall judgements, as derogatory and deſtructive unto Parliament and Church in their Anarchicall and Antiparliamentary poſitions; for which, and for their late gathering of Independent Churches, contrary to Parliamentary injunctions (which were never ſeen) they are he ſayes, to be juſtly blamed as great Diſturbers of our publicke peace and unity: theſe his great words make a great noiſe, I confeſſe: a man that did not converſe amongſt theſe people, may eaſily be induced to believe them to be very dangerous. Mr. *Pryn* is of great credit with many in authority, and how far he hath therein done them wrong, his owne conſcience will one day tell him to his coſt.

If Mr. *Pryn* were a ſtranger to the Separation, and unacquainted with the innocency of their wayes and intentions, I might charitably judge him to plead for the perſecution of Gods people ignorantly, as St. *Paul* did: but ſince he cannot but know that they are both in affection and action reall and cordiall to the Parliament, as himſelfe confeſſes, and hath found them for his owne particular compaſſionate in his ſufferings, and liberally aſſiſtant to him in his miſeries: I profeſſe, I can make no other conſtruction of his ſo violent pleading for perſecution, and incenſing the Parliament againſt a People he knowes harmleſſe, and modeſt and reaſonable in their deſires whoſe utmoſt end is only not to be moleſted in their ſerving of God: I can make no other conſtruction of it, I ſay, that engagement to the Divines, and ſome intereſt of his owne hath begot a hardneſſe over his heart, and clouded that noble courage, and common ſpirit which did poſſeſſe him. If he wanted information, I would labour with him, but ſince I cannot doubt but that he hath ſufficient of that, I will leave him till the truth and excellency of that freedome againſt which he fights, till the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of the Separation which he delivers up to the ſword, in theſe words, *Immedicabile vulnus enſe recidendum eſt*, make him one day appeare even to his preſent admirers, the man he is indeed.

In the meane time, I turne to the people, and deſire them to enquire after the Separation, and have full knowledge of them: they will then finde they are extreamly miſunderſtood by authority, and all others that apprehend them to be any other then a quiet harmleſſe people, no way dangerous or troubleſome to humane ſociety: I have found them to be an ingenious enquiring people, and charitable both in their cenſures of others, and due regard to the poore. I am become their advocate, out of no engagement or relation to them, I profeſſe, more then what my knowledge of their ſincerity and true affection to their Country hath begotten in me.

Mr. *Goodwin*, I need not ſpeak much of, he is a man ſo well knowne, that Mr. *Pryns* ſo rigid urging of his expreſſions upon him, as he hath too largely and ſpleenishly done in his Epiſtle, making ſo unſavoury and utterly diſproportioned compariſons betwixt him, and the malignant Prelats, and Anti-parliamentary Cavaliers, that a man that knows the antipathy betweene them cannot but ſtand amazed thereat; and neceſſarily conclude that ſomething hath blinded not only the light of Mr. *Pryns* conſcience, but of his underſtanding alſo, and then after a moſt unchriſtian application, his ſentence is in theſe diſmall old Antichriſtian and Prelaticall tearms; if they will not be reclaimed, *fiat juſtitia*, better ſome ſhould ſuffer then all periſh: but happy it is, that *the power of Parliament is not in* Mr. *Pryn*: if it were (in the minde he is now in) 'tis much to be doubted, his part would differ little from *Bonners* or *Gardiners* in Queen *Maries* dayes: but bleſſed be God, it is otherwiſe; nor will that juſt Authority I preſume be moved either with his fierce exclamations, or incomparable flatteries to doe any thing contrary to right reaſon and true Chriſtianity: nor is there indeed (the fore mentioned rule holding) any cauſe why that ſupreme Authority ſhould be offended: for all ſorts of Independents, whether Anabaptiſts or Browniſts, or Antinomians, or any other doe all agree, that in all Civill and Military cauſes and affaires, they have an abſolute ſupreme power: And if they ſhall conceive it juſt and neceſſary for the State to propoſe one way of worſhip for a generall rule throughout the Land, and ſhall ingratiate the ſame by an exemption from all offence and ſcandall of weake conſciences as far as is poſſible; The Independents, &c. have nothing to oppoſe againſt their wiſdomes: and if the publicke way ſhould be ſuch as ſhould agree with any of their judgements and conſciences, they would moſt readily joyne in fellowſhip therein: but if their judgements and conſciences ſhould not be fully ſatisfied concerning the ſame, then whatſoever is not of faith is ſinne; and they cannot but diſjoyne: and in ſuch a caſe, all good men that know them will ſhew themſelves true Chriſtians indeed, in becomming humble ſuters to the Parliament, that as for convenience to the State they propoſe one generall publicke way: ſo for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and for avoyding of ſinne either in compelling of worſhip contrary to conſcience, or in reſtraint of conſciencious worſhip; they would be pleaſed to allow unto all men (that through difference of judgement could not joyne with the publicke congregations) the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their conſciences in private congregations.

And if they ſhould be pleaſed ſo to doe; it is but what is agreeable to common equity and true Chriſtian liberty: It hath beene the wiſdome of all judicious Patriots to frame ſuch laws and government as all peaceable well minded people might delight to live under; binding from all things palpably vitious by the greateſt puniſhments, and propoſing of rewards and incouragements to all publicke vertue: but in things wherein every man ought to be fully perſwaded in his particular minde of the lawfulneſſe or unlawfulneſſe thereof; there to leave every man to the guidance of his owne judgement; and where this rule is obſerved, there all things flouriſh, for thither will reſort all ſorts of ingenious free borne minds: ſuch Commonwealths abound with all things either neceſſary or delightfull, and which is the chiefe ſupport of all: ſuch a government aboundeth with wiſe men, and with the generall affections of the people: for where the government equally reſpecteth the good and peace of all ſorts of virtuous men, without reſpect of their different judgements in matters of Religion: there all ſorts of judgements cannot but love the government, and eſteem nothing too pretious to ſpend in defence thereof.

Who can live where he hath not the freedome of his minde, and exerciſe of his conſcience? looke upon thoſe Governments that deny this liberty, and obſerve the envyings and repinings that are amongſt them, and how can it be otherwiſe, when as if a man advance in knowledge above what the State alloweth, he can no longer live freely, or without diſturbance exerciſe his conſcience? what followes then? why he takes his eſtate, and trade, and family, and removes where he may freely enjoy his minde, and exerciſe his conſcience: and as this hath been the ſad condition of this Nation to its extreame loſſe divers wayes: ſo Mr. *Pryn* would have it continued for ought by his writings can bee diſcovered; nor is he any whit troubled in ſpirit to ſee at this day of Jubile, and of Reformation unto all juſt liberty: thouſands of well-affected perſons at their wits end, not knowing where to ſet their foot, for want of encouragement in the cauſe of conſcience.

I but, ſayes Mr. *Pryn*, our Covenant bindes us to maintaine an abſolute Eccleſiaſtick power in the Parliament: it bindes us to maintaine their undoubted rights, power, priviledges: but Mr. *Pryn* muſt ever beare in minde, that what the people cannot entruſt that they cannot have; which will anſwer all objections of that nature.

As for our Brethren of Scotland: there is no doubt, but they are ſad obſervers of all the diſtempers and miſunderſtandings that are amongſt us, and would be moſt glad that the wiſdome of Parliament would miniſter a ſpeedy remedy; although therein they ſhould ſomewhat vary from their way of

Church Government; as well knowing there can be no greater advantage given to our common Enemy, then the continuance of theſe our diviſions and diſaffections.

And where Mr. *Pryn* may ſuppoſe all liberty of this kinde, would tend to the encreaſing of erronious opinions, and diſturbance to the State; I beleeve he is miſtaken; for let any mans experience witneſſe whether freedome of diſcourſe be not the readieſt way both to give and receive ſatisfaction in all things.

And as for diſturbance to the State: admit any mans judgement be ſo miſinformed, as to beleeve there is no ſinne; if this man now upon this government ſhould take away another mans goods, or commit murder or adultery; the Law is open, and he is to be puniſhed as a malefactor, and ſo for all crimes that any mans judgement may miſlead him unto.

And truly you are to conſider in reading his great Book (improperly entituled, Truth triumphing over falſhood) that he acknowledges them to bee but nocturnall lucubrations, diſtracted ſubitane collections; and if you truly weigh them you will finde them very light, and little better compacted then meere dreams, or ſuch fumes as men uſe to have betwixt ſleeping and waking: and when you have viewed all thoſe many ſheets, conſider them as in one, and it will reſemble Saint *Peters* viſion, a mixt multitude of unclean teſtimonies raked out of the ſerpentine dens of meer tyrannous Princes, Antichriſtian and Machivillian Councells, erronious Parliaments, and bloudy perſecuting Councells and Convocations, which he hath produced, to be perſwaders and controlers in theſe times of pure Reformation. Certainly if a man were not in a deep Lethargy, ſuch a maſſe of ſo groſſe excrements could not paſſe from him without offence to his owne noſtrill; if it be his caſe, hee that ſcracheth him moſt, and handles him moſt roughly, is his beſt friend, there being no other remedy; when he is recovered and broad awake hee will thanke his Phyſitian: in the meane time thus much is preſented to his admirers, to preſerve them from that malevolent infection, unto which his writings and reputation of former ſufferings might ſubject them unto; and this by one who is no more obliged to any Independent, Anabaptiſt, Browniſt, Separation, or Antinomian, then Mr. *Pryn* himſelfe; but hath taken paines to know them ſomewhat better, and cannot but love them for their ſincere love to our dear Country, to the juſt liberties thereof, and to our juſt Parliamentary Government: moſt heartily wiſhing them their juſt deſires, and a peacefull life amongſt us: That they might be encouraged to joyne heart and hand with us, in proſecution of the common Enemies, of our common liberties, knowing no reaſon why I ſhould not love and aſſiſt every perſon that loves his Country unfeignedly, and endeavours to promote the good and freedome thereof, though of different judgement with me in matters of Religion; in which caſe I am not to judge or controle him, nor he me: and I heartily wiſh all true lovers of their Country were in this minde; and when they are ſo, then the miſeries of this Nation will ſoon be ended, and untill then, they will continue, as is too much to be feared: I could heartily wiſh that what is here written, might worke a good alteration in Mr. *Pryn*:

but when I remember the ſtory, That a certain Lawyer came to our Saviour, tempting him; I fear it is in reſpect of himſelf, but waſhing of a Blackamoore: ſelf deniall, is too hard a leſſon for him; and if ſo, you ſhall have him in ſome bitter reply inſtantly; for though he cannot out-reaſon men, yet if he can but out-write his oppoſers, he claps his wings and crows *victoria*, that he hath ſilenced them all. Truly for writing much, I verily believe that he out-does any man in England, which is no commodity at all to a State or the Truth, and then conſidering what free liberty he hath to Print whatſoever he writeth, diſcreet men will conſider what a great advantage he hath therein, and will not deem it want of ability in his oppoſers, though they doe not ſee him preſently anſwered to their full ſatisfaction; and yet I am confident his great Booke will be ſuddenly anſwered throughly: but if Mr. *Pryn* would deale upon equall tearmes, and uſe meanes that the Preſſe may be open for all Subjects, but for ſix moneths next comming free from the bonds of Licencers; if Mr. *Pryn* be not ſo ſilenced, as that all his former and late books doe not underſell browne paper; let me be henceforward eſteemed as vaine a boaſter, as now I eſteem him: for his oppoſers, as in the juſtneſſe of this cauſe they cannot regard his ſpleene; ſo nothing would be more welcome to them, then his love, and change of minde, whereof ſome doe not diſpaire: however, I end with his owne words, more juſtly applyed *fiat juſtitia*; better it is that he undergoe this my plaine dealing, then that either the Readers of his bookes ſhould be ſeduced, or ſo many innocent well-affected perſons be ſo groſſely abuſed by him.

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[RICHARD OVERTON]

THE ARAIGNEMENT OF MR. PERSECUTION

1645

The Araignement of Mr. Persecution appeared in London in 1645 in two editions, the first edition being twice printed. On the title-page of his copy of the first edition in one of its states (A), now in the British Museum, Thomason has entered the date, April 8. The other and more correctly printed state of the first edition (B) is represented by a copy in the British Museum (4105 a 45) and by a copy in the library of the Union Theological Seminary. The text is here reproduced in state B from the Union Seminary copy, collated with a photostatic print of the British Museum copy. The second edition shows slight alterations and additions, the chief of which are some verses at the end addressed to Martin Mar-Priest by "Christopher Scale-skie, Mathematician in chief to the Reverend Assembly of Divines" and a note defending the language used in the pamphlet on the ground that the author is deriding fools. The work in one or more of its printings was probably produced by the clandestine press with which Overton himself was connected. For evidence of Overton's authorship, see Volume I, pages 95 ff.

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THE
Araignement
OF Mr.
PERSECVTION

Preſented to the
CONSIDERATION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
and to all the COMMON PEOPLE of *England.*

WHEREIN HE IS INDICTED, ARAIGNED, CONVICTED, *AND*
Condemned of *emnity againſt God, and all Goodneſſe, of Treaſons, Rebellion,*
Bloodshed,&c. and ſent to the place of *Execution.*

In the proſecution whereof, the Ieſuiticall Deſignes, *and* ſecret Encroachments *of his Defendants, Sir* SYMON SYNOD, *and the* IOHN *of all Sir* IOHNS,
Sir IOHN PRESBITER, *upon the Liberty of the*
Subject is detected, and laid open.

By Yongue MARTIN MAR-PREIST, Son
to old MARTIN the Metrapolitane.

This is Licenced, and printed according to Holy Order, but not Entered into the Stationers Monopole.

Angliæ MARTINIS *diſce favere tuis.*

EVROPE.

Printed by *MARTIN CLAW CLERGIE*, Printer to the *Reverend*
Aſſembly of Divines, and are to be ſhould at his Shop in *Toleration Street*, at the *Signe* of the *Subjects Liberty*, right
oppoſite to *Perſecuting Court*. 1645.

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The Epiſtle Dedicatorie.

TO
THE REVEREND LEARNED THE PROLOcutor, Aſſeſſors, the Commiſſioners of the Church of *Scotland*; and the reſt of the venerable Aſſembly of
Divines, now ſitting in holy Convocation at *Weſtminſter*.

Reverend Sirs,

According to my duty at your divine entreaty, *I have reduced thoſe* pious inſtructions *received from you, into ſuch a* pleaſing forme, *as I hope, ſhall not only* affect, *but abundantly* edefie *the people of this* Kingdome *under your* holy Iuriſdiction; *for conſidering your* ſpirituall care *over them, and how your tims hath been taken up wholy in the procurement of that* ſacred Ordinance for Tythes, *wyſely thought on before the* Directory, *for* he is an Infidell and denyeth the faith, that doth not provide for his family: *your late* humble Advice *digeſted into ſeverall* Aſſertions: *your ſore travill and paine you have daly ever ſince your* holy Convocation *undergon, to* bring to birth *his* Holyneſſe, *Sir* IOHN PRESBYTER; *and other your toyleſome endeavours for the Honour of your* holy cloth, *I have therefore more willingly become your* Ioyrneman *to eaſe* your Burthen *in this* your toyleſome time of Deformation; *and having thus prepared my* endeavoures, *fit for the* publike vew, *I am emboldned to* Dedicate *them unto* your divine protection: *not doubting of the* ſacred impoſition of your hands upon them, *to ſanctifie them unto the people, as,* truly Presbyterean, *that comeing* forth *with* your Claſſicall Authotity, *they may obtaine a* reverent eſtimation *with them. And ſeeing I have made ſuch a happy* beginning, *I doubt not of an* anſwerable encouragement *from you to* proceed *as I have begun, but a ſmall matter will pleaſe* MARTIN, *if you* ſanctifie *him with the* Benedicite *of a* Cornelian Benefice *of* 400. *l. per annum, to* knocke downe *the* Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, *&c. with your thumping, bumping,* Presbyterean, Claſſicall CLUB, *that ſhall ſuffice* pro tempore, *and withall to gratifie him with the Deane of* Pauls *Houſe that's but a ſmall matter, it will become his* worſhip *very well for the preſent, and afterwards you may doe, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to your divine wiſedomes according to his beſt deſervings therein; he is a ſingular man in ſuch a buſines, and wants nothing but* preferment; *you doe not thinke, neither doth it enter into your hearts, how* reverend Yongue MARTIN *can* thunder-thump *the* Pulpit, *O, he can* ſtaer *moſt devoutly, raile and bawle moſt fervently, ſtorme moſt tempeſtiouſly even till he* foame at mouth *moſt preciſely; Oh how he can ſpetter't out! O theſe curſed* Anabaptiſts, *theſe wicked* Browniſts, *theſe Heretickes, theſe Sciſmatickes, theſe Sectaries;* O MARTIN *hath it at his fingers end, he's an* Univerſity man, *skild in the* Tongues and Sciences, and can ſophiſticate any Text, O he is excellent at falſe Gloſſes, and Scholaſtike Interpretations, he can wreſt the Scriptures moſt neatly, tell the people it is thus and thus in the Originall, an excellent man to make a Presbyter! *and* O Bretheren, *if* MARTIN *thus delude the people &*

thraſh thoſe Hereticks in hope ſure MARTIN *ſhall be partaker of his hope, you will not* muzle the oxe that treadeth out your corne ; *no,* MARTIN *hath better eſteeme of the* Aſſembly, *he doth not once ſuppoſe, that like* Bell's *Aſſembly of Preiſts they'l devoure all themſelves, and leave nothing for* MARTIN, *but it is no matter,* MARTIN *will be content with hard meats rather then deſert the ſervice of ſuch an holy, ſuch a reverend Aſſembly, ſuch a* Quagmire *of* croaking ſkip-jacke Presbyters, *ſuch is his zeale and pious affection to the Cauſe, he is reſolved to worke with his owne hands, rather then be troubleſome : Thus committing his endeavoures to your* learned Conſultations, pious Debates, *and* ſacred Concluſions, *he reſts in expectation of his Reward,*

Yours humbly devoated in all Synoddicall,
Claſſicall, Conſiſtoreall, or Predicatory
Function, till death us depart,

Yongue MARTIN MAR-
PREIST, Son to old MAR-
TIN the Metrapolitane.

To his Freind the Authour
upon his Booke.

'T was boldly ventured to ſet upon
This foule blacke Feind, mad *PERSECUTION,*
Pluto's Grand Agent, whom the world beſide,
Durſt not but fawne upon, thou'ſt tane, and try'd:
Thy paines ſure have been great, to ſeeke him out,
Thou haſt encompaſt *Europe* all about,
The *Sottish, English, Irish* Climates too,
Thou haſt trac'd o're, to ſee what things they doe:
What was the cauſe that ſo much blood was ſhed
In all thoſe places? Why rents and ſad diviſions
In Kingdomes once made happy? now the viſions
Of woefull ruine; Spectacles for time,
To write deſtructions everlaſting line.
Thanke then Yongue *MARTIN* for his love and care,
T'impart to thee, who theſe proud actours are,
And let him have thy prayers, ſo thou ſhalt be,
As much belov'd of virteous men as he.

A. B.

Die Saturni, Apr. 6. 1645.

It is *Decreed*, and *Ordained* by the reverend *Aſſembly of* Divines now aſſembled in *holy Convocation*, that Dr. *Burgeſſe*, and Mr. *Edwards* doe returne thankes unto the worthy Authour of this *Treatiſe*, intituled, *The Araignement of Perſecution*, for his pious endevoures, and vigilant care he hath taken therein, at the intreaty of this *Synod*: And it is further *Ordained*, that they doe deſire him to print and publiſh the ſaid Treatiſe forthwith, and that it be commended to the people, as a *divine Hand-Maide* to the right underſtanding of the *Directory*: And it is yet further Decreed and Ordained, that none ſhall preſume to print or reprint the ſaid Treatiſe, but whome he ſhall authorize under his own hand writing till this moſt *Holy Synod* ſhall take furuther Order.

Henry Roborough, } *Scribes.*
Adoniran Byfeild, }

I appoynt my Cozen MARTIN CLAW-CLERGIE *Printer* to the *reverend Aſſembly of* Divines, and none elſe to *Print this Treatiſe.*

Yongue MARTIN MAR-PREIST.

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THE ARAIGNEMENT OF PERSECUTION.

A Certaine dreadfull, and ſevere Gentleman by name, *Gods-vengance*, of the Towne of *Impartiallity*, in the County of *Iuſt-judgment*, having a long time through the daily perſwations of his Kinſman, Mr. *Long-ſufferance* (an honeſt peaceable Gentleman, unwilling his enemie ſhould periſh) forborne to proceed againſt the great Enemie and Incendiary of mankind, Mr. *Perſecution*, according to his iniquity, at length taking occaſion at his Kinſmans abuſed patience, forthwith procures a warrant from the Lord Cheife Iuſtice, *Peace-with-all-men*, for the Conſtable, Mr. *Reward-of-tyranny*, to attach him; who takes with him two approved men of the Pariſh, old Mr. *Woefull-experience*, and honeſt Mr. *Sound-judgment*; and making ſtrict ſearch and inquiry after him from Religion to Religion, found him at length amongſt the Papiſts, under the name of Mr. *Spaniſh-Inquiſition*; but the ſubtile Fox no ſooner perceived their *Authority*, but ſhrunke out of his Roman Papall Robe, and preſently turned *Proteſtant*, clad with an Engliſh Epiſcopall habit, under the name of Mr. *High-Commiſſion*, but Conſtable *Reward-of-Tyranny*, with old *Woefull-Experience*, and honeſt *Sound-Iudgement* being acquainted with his trikes, made after him, whereat he caſt of his *Laume ſleeves, Hoode*, *Typpit*, &c. and forthwith, leaſt all Trades ſhould faile, became a zealous *Covenanter*, in the godly ſhape of a *Presbyter*, changing his name into *Claſſicall Presbytrie* (a new cheat to coſen the world,) and then Scholer like, as if it had been for a goodly fat Benefice, in the twinkling of an eye jumpt out of *Scotland* into *England*, and turn'd a reverend *Synodian*, diſguiſ'd with a Sylogiſticall pair of Britches (ſaving your preſence) in *Bocardo*, and ſnatching a Rhetoricall Caſſok he girt up his loynes with a Sophiſticall Girdle, and ran into the wilderneſſe of *Tropes*, and *Figures*, and there they had loſt him, had it not been for the *Spirits Teaching*, by whoſe direction they trac'd him through the various windings, ſubtile by-Pathes, ſecret tracts, and cunning Meanders the evening wolves, wild Boares and Beaſts of the Forreſt in the briery thickets of Rhetoricall Gloſſes, Sophiſtications, and ſcholaſtick Interpretations had made, but being fit to lay hands on him, the cunning *Hocus* Pocus vaniſh'd out of their ſight, and preſently *takes Sanctuary* , for lookeing about for him , Behold, he was *doing his buſines* (Sr. *Reverence)* in the P*ulpit*, thumping it devoutly, and moſt furiouſly like the *Son of Thunder* he *ratlid* the *Anabaptiſts*, *Brouwniſts*, *&c.* letting his *bolts* (which according to the P*roverbe* were *ſoone shot*) fly at randome againſt them: but thinking to apprehend him, he skipt from them, from P*ulpit* to P*ulpit*, from *Vniverſity* to *Vniverſity*, from *Colledge* to *Colledge* , even through all the P*ulpits*, *Vniverſities*, and *Colledges* in *Chriſtendome*, and then he hied him from P*arſonage* to P*arſonage*, where the P*arſons Wifes* had thought to have hid him amongſt the *Heards* of *Tyth* P*igges*, flockes of chickings geeſe, &c. but that failing, he ran as if he had been wild through the *Gleabe Land*, and skipt over into a *Tyth Cocke*, and thought all had been *cocke ſure*; but perceiving they eſpy'd him, up ſtarts the Fox, and preſently faſt by the *Synod* he caught hold on the *Altar*, but fearing leaſt he ſhould be made a burnt Offering he vaniſhed into 12. *Articles*, but that buſineſſe not thriving, the next ſight that was made of him, was in a petitionary garbe in the behalſe of the *London* Miniſters: And a thouſand other trickes, that I cannot reckon, he had; but one above all the reſt I muſt not forget, which was the *maſter pecce* of all the reſt; for to bloke up all paſſages, ſtop all mouthes, and fortifie himſelfe round, he turn'd *reverend Imprimatur*: and here the *purſuers* were at a ſtand, for all was as faſt as the *Divel* and the P*resbyters* could make it, they ſought to Authority to open the P*reſſe*, and ſtill the P*reſ-byters* (as their cuſtome is) were in the way, that nothing could be done: Well, no good was to be done in publike, they then goe to it privately, and to worke a deliverance, fell into dangrous labour, and at length brought forth the villaine into publike vew, and notwithſtanding all his trickes detected, apprehended, and caried him to Iuſtice *Reaſon*, who having examined the Malefactour, ſets downe his *Examination*, and binds over *Gods-vengance* to proſecute the *Malefactour* at the next *Aſſizes*, and finding him not baylable, makes his *Mittimus* for the Conſtable to commit him to the Goale, there to be kept in ſafe cuſtody without *Bayle* or *Manupriſe* till the next *Goale delivery*.

Now for the better underſtanding of this *Araignment* this enſuing Catalogue of the names of the ſeverall Officers of the Court is here annexed.

The *Court* of *Aſſizes* held at the *Araignment* of P*erſecution*. 1645.

Lord P*arliament*	The Iudge
Iuſtice *Reaſon* Iuſtice *Humanity* Iuſtice *Conformity*	Iuſtices the Peace.

Sir *Charles*-*Royall*-*Prerogative*.
Sir *Peter*-*proteſtant*.
Sir *Iohn*-*Equity*
Mr. *Obedience*.
Clarke. *Cryer*.

The Kings Sergeant.
The Kings Arturney.
High-Sherriffe.
Under Sherriffe.

Mr.
Soveraingnty-of-Chriſt.
Power-of-Parliamentes.
Vnity-of-Kingdomes.
Nationall Strength.
Setled-Peace.
Humaine-Society.
Vnited-Provinces.
Deſolate-Germany.
Blood-of-Princes.
Publike-Good.
Nationall-Wealth.
Civill-Government.
Domeſticke-Miſeries.

Grand Inqueſt.

Mr.
Creation.
Goſpel.
Politique-power.
State-pollicy.
National-loyalty.
Liberty-of-Subject.

Innocent-blood.
Good-ſamaritane.
Trueth-and-peace.
Orphan.
Light-of-nature.
Day-of-judgement.

Iury of life and death.

Mr. PERSECUTION.
Mr. Gods-Vengence.

Priſoner.
Proſecutour.

Gaffar
Chriſtian
Martyrs
Liberty-of-Conſcience.

Evidences.

Sir *Symon Synod* and Sir *Iohn Presbyter*.

Defendants.

A neuw Iury for Life and Death endeavoured by Sir *Symon Synod*.

Mr.
Satan.
Antichriſt.
Spanish-Inquiſition.
Counſell-of-Trent.
High-commiſſion.
Aſſembly-of-Divines.

Rude-multitnde.
Sr. Iohn Presbiter.
Scotch-government.
Falſe-prophets.
--*Ecclef-Supremacy*.
Pontificall-Revenue.

Sir *Symons Iury men*.

THus(Reader)the *Court* being compleat,for thy more ſpeedy progreſſion through the matter intended I, ſuppoſe the tranſaction of many paſſages in theſe *Aſſizes* here in this *Relation* omitted, as needleſſe the repetition; the *Eſſentialls* thereof being ſo tedious (to the impatient Reader, yet not unneceſſary and uſeleſſe (I hope) to the diligent peruſer) for wherein without prejudice to our preſent matter, an omiſſion may be, my ſilence for formality ſake gives place to a ſuppoſition thereof, otherwiſe I ſhall tranſgreſſe upon the Readers Patience. Thus then the *Grand Inqueſt*(the matter being thus far brought) fall into debate.

1. Mr. *Soveraignenity of Chriſt.* Gentlemen, our Lord of Lords, and King of Kings,whoſe Image and expreſſe prerogative I am,hath by the price of his blood, conſtituted himſelfe ſole *Head* and *King* for ever over the *Conſciences* of men, and therefore he chargeth his Houſholders, the *Kings* of the *Earth*, to let the *Tares* and the *When* grow together in the *Field* of the *World* untill the *Harveſt* the *Day of judgement*, therefore this Malefactour *Perſecution*, in my Iudgement, being in his *Inclinations* and *Actions* altogether averſe thereto, is an *Arch-traitour* to the *Prerogative Royall* of *Ieſus Chriſt* over the Conſciences of men, and therefore Lawfully and Iuſtly charged with this *Bill*.

2. Mr. *Power of Parliaments.* My verdict (Mr. *Foreman*) is, that *Perſecution* for Conſcience is Inconſiſtant with the *Soveraignty* of *Kingdomes*, for it divideth their *Powers* one againſt another,and in themſelves occaſioneth murmurings, grutchings, and repinings, which in time breake forth into Conſpiracies, Rebellions, Inſurrections, &c. as well to the prejudice of Soveraignity, as to the ruine of the Subject; and which is more, the tendency, operation, and end of Perſecution, is to reduce the Power of Kingdomes and Parliaments from themſelves into the hands and diſpoſall of the Pontificall Clergie, according to the diviliſh Decree of Pope *Paul* 4. *con. Trent. lib.* 5. *p.* 409. So that there can be no ſecurity for the Power of Majeſtracy, where Eccleſiaſticke uſurpation is predominant; for the greater their Power is, the leſſe powerfull is Majeſtracy: wherefore I muſt needs conſent to the equity of this *Byll*.

3. Mr. *Vnity-of-Kingdomes.* Mr. *Foreman*, ſhould I relate how through the diviliſh polecy and cruelty of this *Perſecution for conſcience* I have been baniſhed from betwixt Kingdomes,States,and Provinces to their utter deſtruction in one an others ruine, I ſhould be unhappily too troubleſome: wherefore in ſhort, my *verdict* is concurrant with yours.

4. Mr. *Notionall-ſtrength.* Mr. *Foreman*, I conceive that you cannot be unſenſible that the Nationall ſtrength of Kingdomes & People conſiſts in the generall peace, as ſeverall members wiſely compacted in the naturall skin of one politike body: wherefore,to foſter this *Malefactor* amongſt a people, is to render the ſtrength of a Kingdome to ruine,for he is a conſtant ſower of diviſion,

ſion,emulation,hatred,&c. amongſt them : So that my *verdict* is not any wayes diſſenting from your judgment.

Mr. *Setled-Peace.* Mr. *Foreman*, By reaſon of *Perſecution for conſcience*, I can find no abſolute acceptance in any Kingdome or Nation troughout Chriſtendome. For he ſo poyſoneth all Nationall Pacifications, Leagues and Covenants, that their peace changeth with their Religion; ſo that their peace cannot be truly ſetled whererefore my *verdict* is concurrant.

6. Mr. *Humaine Society.* Mr. *Foreman*, My *verdict* is, what by experience you have all found, that he hath not only ſet Kingdomes at variance,but even father againſt ſon, and ſon againſt father,one friend againſt an other, and embrewes them in one an others blood,to the deſtruction of all humaine ſociety: wherefore, I conceive this Charge againſt him is according to equity.

7. Mr. *Blood-of-Princes.* Mr. *Foreman*, The blood of Kings, Rulers, and Governours; the Treaſons, Deſignes, and Conſpiracies againſt their perſons, whereof Hiſtory is full, and whereto our Age is not wanting, occaſioned by *Perſecution*, enforces my *verdict* in approbation of the *Byll* againſt him.

7. Mr. *Vnited-Provinces.* Mr. *Foreman*, Whoſoever readeth the Hiſtory of the *Vnited Provinces*, and conſidereth their wonderfull preſervation, flouriſhing ſtate and proſperity they enjoy, notwithſtanding their waging of continuall warre with a forraigne Enemie, may clearly perceive,the great mercy of God upon a Nation and people, that in tender to the conſciences one of an other, exclude, baniſh, and extirpate *Perſecution* out of their Territories: wherefore I likewiſe conſent to the equity of the *Byll* given in againſt him.

8. Mr. *Deſolate-Germany.* Mr. *Foreman*, Thoſe that doubt of the truth of this *Byll*, let them but looke upon the Germaine deſolations, depopulations, warre, famine, and peſtilence occaſioned through papall ſupremacy over our conſciences,& he may receive full ſatisfaction of the equity of this *Byll*.

9. Mr. *Publique-good.* Mr. *Foreman*, that which is deſtructive to the publique good is *Treaſonable*, and not to be ſuffered in a *Common-wealth*, becauſe it ſtriketh at the *Root* and *Foundation* of *Magiſtracy*, whoſe proper end is, that all may lead a *Quiet* and *Peaceable* life under the publique *Protection*. But this Fellow, *Peſecution*, diverteth the publique good from the *Generality* to this or that *Sort*, to this or that *prevailing Faction*: ſo that where, or in what *State* ſoever he is *Predominate*, there is an impoſſibility of an equall enjoyment of the publique good, but even the better ſort, ſuch as ſtand for the good of others as well as their owne, and have hazarded their lives for the publique good againſt the common *Enemy*, as *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *&c.* are by him deprived of the publique *Liberty* and *Freedome* of the *Subject*, for which they have engaged *Eſtate* and *Life*. Therefore Mr. *Foreman*, my *Verdict* upon the *Bill* is *BILLA VERA*.

10. Mr. *Nationall-wealth.* Mr. *Foreman*, that which is the Ruine of Nationall

Wealth is deſtructive to the very *Being* and continuance of *Nations*, *Kingdomes*, and *States*: for it bringeth *Devaſtation* and *Depopulation* thereof, and ſo not to be ſuffered. But this *Perſecution* for Conſcience ſtirreth up *Warres* and *Bloodshed*, in *Nations*, *Kingdomes*, and *States*, which conſumeth their *Wealth*, devoureth their *Fruit*, burneth and deſtroyeth their *Cities*, *Townes*, and *Villages*, and throweth all into a *Wilderneſſe*. Therefore Mr. *Foreman* you have my conſent to the verity of this *Byll*.

Foreman. Gentlemen, we have ſpent much time, and our *verdict* is expected, if you (12.) Mr. *Civill-Government*, and Mr. (13.) *Domeſticke-Miſeries*, be agreed with us in your *verdict*, there remaineth nothing, but the endorſment hereof with *Billa-Vera*.

Ambo. Wee are agreed with you.

This paſt, the *Grand Iury* give in their verdict or *Inditement* endorſed with *Billa Vera*, whereby the Malefactor Perſecution is made a lawfull priſoner, to be brought forth to the Barre, and to be put upon the Jury of life and death.

Whereupon the *Clarcke* (the mouth of the Court) commands the Goaler to ſet forth *Perſecution* to the *Barre*.

The Goaler ſets forth Perſecution *to the Barre.*

The Iudictment.

Clar. Perſecution, *Hold up thy Hand, and heare thy* Indictment. Perſecution, *Thou ſtandeſt Indicted in this* County *of* Iuſt-Iudgment *by the name of* Perſecution, *late of the* Towne *of* Tyranny, *in the* County *of* Martyrdome, *by* Gods-Vengance, *of the* Towne *of* Impartiallity, *in the* County *of* Iuſt-Iudgment, *That thou art an enemy to God and all goodneſſe, a Traytor to Kings and* Princes, *their perſons, Crownes and Dignities divider of them one againſt an other, and of Kingdomes and people in themſelves, and that thou art guilty of the warre and bloodshed at preſent in this Land, yea almoſt of all the blood of the whole earth from the blood of righteous* Abell *unto the blood of theſe preſent times, contrary to the peare of our Soveraigne Lord the King, his crowne and dignity: How ſaiſt thou* Perſecution, *art thou guilty of this* Treaſon, *Rebellion and bloodshed in manner and forme is thou ſtandeſt Indicted, or not guilty?*

Priſ. Not guitly.

Clar. By whom wilſt thou be tryed?

Priſ. By God and my Countrey.

Then an *Impanell* being returned, the Clarke ſaith,

You good men that are Impanneled *between our Soveraigne* Lord *the King, and the priſoner at the* Barre, *anſwer to your names at the firſt call upon paine and perill that may fall thereon.*

They all anſwer to their names.

Clar. Cryer, make Proclamation. Creyer o—— yes—— If any man can informe my Lord the Kings Iuſtices, the Kings Sergeant, or the Kings

Atturney before this Inqueſt be taken, between our Soveraigne Lord the King, and the priſoner at the Barre, let them come forth and they ſhalbe heard; for the priſoner ſtands at the Barre upon his deliverance.

Clar. You the priſoner that is called to the Bar, theſe men which you have heard called, and perſonally appeare, ſhall paſſe between our Soveraigne Lord the King and you, upon tryall of your life and death, if you will *challenge* them, or any of them, you muſt ſpeake unto them or any of them as they come to the Booke to be ſworne, before they be ſworne.

Priſoner. My Lord, let me humbly crave liberty to *Challenge* this Iury, who though my Lord in all probability they be honeſt Gentlemen, yet my breeding, education, nature and courſe of life is not ſo well known unto them, as unto divers other Gentlemen (of worth and quality) here preſent, indifferent men, of far more eſteem in the world, more able to diſcerne my cauſe, & the evidence mine accuſars ſhall bring: Beſides my Lord, theſe men of the *Iury* are men poſſeſt with an inveterate hatred and malice againſt me, and are parties in my *Indictment*; for together with the Grand Inqueſt they conſpired together againſt me, and provoaked *Gods-Vengance* to proſecute againſt me: now for me to be tryed by mine accuſars and mortall enemies, I hope your Lordſhip cannot conceive it equall or legall: wherefore my Lord, I beſeech you have mercy upon me, conſider the blood of the innocent, leaſt it be a prey to the malice of envy, and let more indifferent men be choſen.

Iudge. Perſecution, I much wonder at thy impudence in excepting againſt ſuch a *Iury*, yet ſo far as in equity I may I am willing for juſtice ſake, to grant the utmoſt the Law affords.

Priſoner. I humbly thanke your Lordſhip, the Lord bleſſe your Honour, and I beſeech your Honour for the aſſiſtance of Sir *Symon Synod.*

Iudge. Well then let Sir *Symon* be cal'd into the Court.

Clarke. Call Sir *Symon Synod.*

Crier. *Sir Symon Synod*, come into the Court.

Iudge. Sir *Symon*, if you can further his Majeſties ſervice, in the propoſall of others in the roome of thoſe Perſecution doth except againſt to Mr. Sherriffe to be impanneled, you are commanded.

Sir *Symon Synod.* My Lord, ſince it is your Lordſhips pleaſure with the conſent of this Honourable Bench, that I ſhall be ſerviceable to him

I ſhall moſt willingly propoſe to his conſideration perſons of ſufficient worth and eſtimation in the World, that are not prejudiciall to the Perſon of the Priſoner, neither are parties in his accuſation, indifferent men, acquainted with his life and converſation, able to diſcerne the evidence, that ſhall be brought in againſt him, men whom I ſhall commend unto your Lordſhips acceptance for ſoundneſſe of judgement, and ſingular Piety in the cauſe of the Clergy, this being a matter which concernes them in an high nature: wherefore by your Lordſhips favour *I* ſhall propoſe theſe (if no better can be procured) to wit, Mr. *Satan*, Mr. *Antichriſt*, Mr. *Spanish Inquiſition*, Mr. *Councell-of-Trent*, Mr. *High-Commiſſion*, Mr. *Aſſembly of Divines*, Mr. *Rude Multitude*, Sr. *Iohn Presbyter*, mine only ſon, Mr. *Scotch Government*, Mr *Falſe-Prophets*, Mr. *Eccleſiaſticall-Supremacy*, Mr. *Pontificall Revenue*: Theſe never failed the deſignes of the *Clergy*, who in all Ages have *endevoured* the Advancement of the Church of God, the *Tribe* of *Levi*: wherefore this being a Caſe that concernes their Advancement, which above all things in the world is to be endevoured, I am emboldned to propound them unto Mr. *Sheriffe*, for the *Triall* of this *Priſoner*.

Iudge. Sr. *Simon*, this is a ſtrange *Iury* you propoſe.

Juſtice *Reaſon*. My *Lord*; it is according to the nature of the *Clergy*, *can you expect* Grapes *of* Thornes, *or* Figges *of* Thiſtles? if you ſhall but according to Reaſon conſider of their *Waies* and *Pretences*, which indeed beare a ſpecious ſhew, you ſhall find them no better then ravening *Woolves* in *Sheepes* Cloathing.

Iuſtice *Humanity*. My *Lord*, it cannot ſtand with Humanity, much leſſe with *Legall Equity*, that a Caſe which concernes the generall good of mankind ſhould be refer'd to the *Verdict* of ſuch an humane *Iury*.

Kings *Ser*. My *Lord* there be divers of them whom *Ruyall Prerogative* hath called in to his Aſſiſtance, and at this day I conceive maketh uſe of them for the Eſtabliſhing the Liberty of the Subject and the *Proteſtant Religion*, ſo that for my part I cannot ſee how all of them can be condemned.

Kings *Attorn*. My *Lord*, a great part of them are Props to the *Proteſtant Religion*.

Iuſtice *Reaſon*. My *Lord*, what though *Royall Prerogative* and the *Proteſtant Religion* ſhould be founded upon them? muſt they therefore be concluded Authentick? *non ſequitur*: and for the Liberty of the Subject, though they may be uſed as a Gloſe; yet Reaſon will tell you, that they are as directly oppoſite to it, as the *Zenith* is to the *Antipodes*.

Iudge. Sr. *Simon*, I cannot in Equity permit ſuch unworthy Perſons to be on the *Iury*, only Mr. *Aſſembly* of *Divines*, Sr. *Iohn Presbyter* and Mr. *Schotch government* are commanded to attend the *Court*, for the ſervice of the *King*, if occaſion be.

Then the former Iury being ſworne, &c. the Goaler is commanded to ſet forth PERSECUTION *to the Barre.*

Clar. PERSECUTION, hold up thy hand: Looke upon him Maſters of the Iury, hearken to his cauſe, You ſhall underſtand, that he ſtands indicted in this County of *Iuſt judgment*, by the name of PERSECUTION, &c. Upon this Indictment he hath beene Arraigned, and thereto hath pleaded *not guilty*, and for his tryall hath put himſelfe upon God and the Countrey, which Countrey are you: your *Charge* is to enquire whether he be guilty of this Treaſon, murder, &c. in manner and forme as he ſtands Indicted, or not guilty: And heare your Evidence.

Crier. If any man can give Evidence, or can ſay any thing againſt the Priſoner, let him come forth, for the Priſoner ſtands upon his deliverance.

Clar. call.	*Gods-Vengance.*	Crier	*Gods-Vengance.*	here.
	Gaffar. *Chriſtian.*		Gaffar *Chriſtian.*	here.
	Gaffar. *Martyrs.*		Gaffar *Martyrs.*	here.
	Gaffar. *Lib. Conſ.*		Gaffar *Lib. Conſ.*	I cannot get in my Lord *Sir Symon* keeps me out. O! murder, murther, my Lord.

come forth & proſecute, or you forfeite your Recogniſance.

Iudge. What is the matter?

Lib. Conſ. My Lord, Sir *Symon Synod* is like to pull out my troate with the revenous Clawes of an *Aſſembly*, and Mr. *Scotch-Government* was ſit to ſtab me with his *Scotch dagger*, and the *Iohn* of all Sr. *Iohns*, Sr. *Iohn Presbyter* with his *Claſſicall Club* would beat out my braines: For my Lord, they are affraid I ſhould come into your Honours preſence, leaſt I ſhould find entertainment in this Kingdome, and ſo Mr. *Pontificall-Revenue* turne Seperate from the Church of *Engeland.*

Crier. *Peace there, every man keep ſilence upon paine of impriſonment: make way there for* Liberty-of-Conſcience; Iemmy, *put up thy dagger*; Sir Symon *goe paire your nailes*; Sir Iohn, *away with your Club, that* Liberty-of-Conſcience *may come into the* Court.

The Witneſſes being come in, they are ſworne every one according to their knowledge to give in a true Evidence for the King againſt the Priſoner at the Barre.

Clar. *Gods-Vengance, ſtand up, what can you ſay for the King againſt the* Priſoner *at the Bar?*

GODS-VENGANCE

My Lord, I have from the beginning diligently obſerved the *Nature* and *inclinations* of this *Priſoner*, ever to have been ſo averſe to God and all goodneſſe, that his Action in all *Nations*, *Kingdomes* and *States*, amongſt *Societyes* and people, have been in direct Enmity to the end of Chriſts comming: for *he came not to deſtroy mens Lives, but to ſave them*, *Luk.* 19. 56. *Ioh.* 3. 17. But this fellow PERSECVTION, deſtroyeth both Life Temporall and Spirituall: he waſteth mens *Eſtates*, the more Godly and upright they are, the more *cruell, raging* and *hatefull* he is againſt them; he bringeth *Miſery*, *Poverty* and *Beggery* on their Wives and Children: yea my Lord, this *Savage Blood-thirſty* Wretch *Hangeth*, *Burneth*, *Stoneth*, *Tortureth*, *Saweth a ſunder*, *Caſteth into the fiery* Fornace, *into the Lions Denne*, *Teareth in peeces with* Wild Horſes, *Plucketh out the eyes*, *Roaſteth quicke*, *Bureth alive*, *Plucketh out the* Tongues, *Impriſoneth*, *Scourgeth*, *Revileth*, *Curſeth*, *yea, with* Bell, Booke *and* Candle, *Belyeth*, *Cutteth the* Eares, *Slitteh the* Noſe, *Manacles the Hands*, *Gaggeth the* Mouthes, *Whippeth*, *Pilloreth*, *Baniſheth into remote Iſlands*, *makes them fly by whole Shipfulls into* Wild Deſarts, *Stigmatizeth ſome*, *and ſometimes maketh ſuch* (*ſo Stigmatized*) *when the wind turnes, to Stigmatize their freinds with* Reproaches, Calumnies, Oppreſſion *of* Conſcience, *&c.* *Deprives* them of the Communication of their Freinds, of all *Releiſe*, of *Pen*, *Inke and Paper*, Seperates Man and Wife, Deprives Parents of their Children and Children of their Parents, *Impriſoneth* men only *for the diſcharge of a good Conſcience*, *Stoppeth Preſſes*, whereby men cannot make their juſt defence, Suffers nothing to be *Licenſed*, *Printed*, *Preached*, or otherwiſe publiſhed, but what himſelfe alloweth, and having thus bound the hands and ſtopt the mouthes of all good men, then he comes forth in *Print*, againſt them like an Armed man, and furiouſly aſſalts them, Exults and Exalts himſelfe over them, *Feigneth* Arguments for them, and then like a Valiant Champion gives them a conquering Anſwere, and thus puts them to flight, and purſues them with Revilings, Scandalls, Forgeries, and Opprobrious Nick-names, as *Antinomians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Independents*, *Sciſmatiques*, *Heretiques &c.* Thus he dealeth with the Godly party: Yea, he forceth Millions to make *Shipwracke of a good Conſcience*, who for feare of ſuch inhumanity *deny the Lord that bought them*, to their finall condemnation. Oh! therefore (my Lord) if there be any Bowells of Mercy, any tender Compaſſion in you! pitty the deſtitute, the Afflicted, the tormented, who wander about in Sheepskinnes and in Goateskinnes in deſarts and in mountaines, in Dens and in Caves of the Earth, of whom the World is not worthy.

Secondly, my Lord, he maketh a Nation guilty of all the righteous blood ſpilt upon the Earth, from the blood of *Abel* to the blood of *Zacharias*, and of all that are ſlayen upon the Earth; for it is all innocent blood that is ſhed in that caſe, purchaſed by the blood of Ieſus Chriſt, who *came not to deſtroy, but to ſave mens lives*; and therefore would have all taught in all Nations, that all might be perſwaded to the obedience of the truth, that all might be ſaved: Therefore to kill the unbeleever, as, *Turke, Pagan, Iew, &c.* is to ſlay ſuch as *Chriſt would have to live to repent*, which muſt needs be *Murder* in the higheſt *Nature*: *And curſed is he that ſhall ſlay an Innocent Perſon, and all the people ſhall ſay,* Amen, *Deut.*29.25. *The Land, that ſheddeth Innocent Blood, Innocent blood ſhall be upon it. Deut.*19. 10. and *Innocent Blood the* Lord *will not pardon.* 2 *Kings* 24.4.

Thirdly, my Lord, he occaſioneth Treaſons, Conſpiracies, Rebellions, Warres, Forreigne and Domeſticke, in all *Nations* and *Kingdomes* in the Earth, He divideth *Prince* againſt *Prince*, Kingdome againſt Kingdome, & Kingdomes in themſelves, Breedeth and begetteth a Nationall hatred betwixt *Prince* and *People*, and amongſt themſelves: he ſetteth Neighbour againſt Neighbeur, Yea Father againſt Sonne, and Sonne againſt Father, he breaketh the bonds of Peace and Freindſhip Nationall and Domeſticke, Inrageth and Filleth the wholl Earth with blood and Violence: for what at this day is the Reaſon the Proteſtants ſeeke the Blood of the Papiſts? but becauſe the Papiſts ſeeke theirs? they hate & perſecute the Papiſts, becauſe the Papiſts hate and perſecute them: they would extirpate and roote out the Papiſts, becauſe the Papiſts would doe the like to them. And on the other ſide, the Papiſts plot and conſpire againſt the Proteſtants, becauſe the Proteſtants will not ſuffer them to live amongſt them, but *Banish, Impriſon, Hang, Draw, Quarter, and ſet up the Lombs of ſome of them* (in open defiance to the God of heaven and earth) *upon the Gates of the City*, who though unhappily they be found *Traitors* to the *Publique Peace and Politique Government*, yet Nature might teach them to bury their Limbs, *An Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth, Blood for Blood*, ſaith God: but now Blood cannot ſatisfie Inhumane cruelty: If this be *Canonicall*, Let me have old *Tobits Apocripha*, who hazarded his life to bury the dead.

Where two ſtand at Enmity, there muſt needs be Maſtery, or elſe no ſafety: When one knoweth the other is his mortall Enemy, he will uſe all the Means, Strenght and Pollicy that he can to ſubdue him. This enrageth to all manner of Tyranny and bloodſhed, ſetteth one Kingdome againſt another, becauſe each knoweth and taketh each other for his deadly Enemy: Their faith being built upon this *rotten* & *devouring* principle of *forcing the conſciences one of another*. But if the Papiſt knew the Proteſtant, the Proteſtant the papiſt to love another: & would not moleſt or in the leaſt injure one another for their *Conſcience*, but live peaceably & quietly one by another; bearing one with another, and ſo of all Religions: What man would lift up his hand againſt his Neighbour? This could not but conduce to a generall true ſetled Peace, to the wholl World. And in a ſhort time, the Enmity of Heart betweene the Papiſt & Proteſtant &c. would be quite worne out: Why ſhould we hate and deſtroy one another? are we not all the Creatures, of one God? redeemed by one Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*? this ſhould provoke us to Love and peace one towards another. If God have revealed more Light of the Goſpell to one then to another, ſhall the more knowing trample the ignorant under his feet? we ſhould carry our ſelves loving and meeke one towards another, with *Patience perſwading and exhorting the contrary minded, proving if at any time God will turne their hearts*, by this meanes the great *Incendiary* of the World, *an inforced enraged Conſcience*, would be at reſt. What is more neere and deere then our *Conſciences*? if that be enraged who can appeaſe it? if that be ſatisfied, what Content Joy or Peace like unto it? or what more mild, more Gentle or Loving? Therefore how tender ought we to be in Caſes of Conſcience? it is a *Lion* if enraged, a *Lamb* if appeaſed: it is all *Hony*, or all *Gall*, enraged it is like the *Wild Bore of* the *Forreſt*, pleaſed, it is like the *Dove* from *the Arcke*: no greater Freind, no greater Foe.

It is beter therefore for Kingdomes to ſet the *Conſcience* free as in *Holland*, *Polonia*, *Tranſylvania*, *&c.* and be at Peace in themſelves, then to bind and enforce it and be Rent in themſelves with *Emulations*, *Heart-burnings*, *Conſpiracies*, *Rebellions*, *&c.* If this *Fiery Spirit* were allayed, *This ignorant Zeall of forcing all to believe as we believe*, *extinct*: *Nationall Feares*, *Ielouſies*, *and Hatred* would ceaſe betwixt *Nation and Nation*, *people and people*: for as *this violent Implacable Spirit* ſuggeſteth *Feares* and *Ielouſies* betwixt one *Conſcience-forcing* King and an other: *Kingdome* and *Kingdome*: *Nation* and *Nation*: ſo it forceth them to draw their ſwords, and ſtand in continuall *Defiance* and *Defence* for feare of *mutuall Invaſion*. Yea under a falſe *Opinion of advancing Gods glory*: by forcing others to their faith, they *invade*, *aſſault and murther* one an other, and yet both (deluded by this Seducer) thinke they doe God good ſervicee, when alas it is all innocent blood that is ſhed: What was the maine cauſe ſo many Nations have been rent and divided in themſelves, and one againſt an other, and in their diviſions devoured one an other of late dayes? What occaſioned the *revolt* of the *Germaine Princes*, from the *Houſe* of *Auſtrea*, of the *Neitherlanders* from the King of *Spaine*, the *bloody Maſſacry* in *France*? And amongſt our ſelves, what occaſioned the *riſing* of the *Scots*, the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, and thoſe *bloody diviſions* in *England*, but this diveliſh Spirit of binding the conſcience? One would compell the other to their faith, and force them from their owne, and that will not be borne, they had rather dye, then deny their faith; and therefore is it, that a conſiderable party rebelleth, and in that Rebellion wallow in one an others blood, burne and deſtroy all before them, and yet both (as they ſuppoſe) *fight the Lords battell*, while indeed the *Divell* beareth the greateſt ſhare, whoſe ſervants they are in that Quarrell one as well as the other. Doth not the Holy Ghoſt make it a ſpeciall Marke of Antichriſt to force *all both great and ſmall*, &c. and is it not the cauſe of the *Womans flight* into the *Wil-*

dernes from the preſence of the Dragon; the ſcattering of the Church into Deſarts and ſecret places; the Death of the *two Witneſſes*, and *wearing out of the Saints of the moſt High*? How cometh the *Woman* on the *ſcarlet coloured Beaſt drunke with the blood of the Saints, and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jeſus, and all the blood of the Earth to be found in her*, but by this diveliſh Spirit, even the *Spirit of Divels, which goeth forth unto the Kings of the Earth, and of the whole world to provoke them to warre againſt the Saints*; I meane, this *binding of conſcience*, and forceing conformity, though never ſo much againſt knowledge and perſwation of heart, which at this day is ſo hotly endeavoured, preached, and pleaded for by the *proud, Prelaticall Presbytrie* of this Land, who by their ſubtile inſinuations, and ſecret deluſions endeavour the infuſion thereof into the hearts of their Rulers, and to beget it as a principle of faith in the multitude: Should they poſſeſſe a Parliament and Kingdome with this Spirit, that Parliament and Kingdom cannot expect peace and ſafety to continue; the fire may be ſmothered for a time, but it will breake out at laſt, as this Kingdome hath already found by woefull experience, the blood of its Nobles and Commons, &c. whereof *my Lord*, this *infernall Feind* (here araigned before your *Honor*, a Traitor to his Majeſties Crown and Dignity, the priviledges of Parliament, Rights, and Lib. of the Subject) is the cauſe: Yea *my Lord*, he is *Iakce on both ſides*, it was he that occaſioned the feares and jealouſies betwixt his Majeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament, and unhappily drew them into the Feild of Blood, neither party would be oppreſſed in Conſcience, or deprived of their Religion; this was one halfe of the Quarrell, and publikely profeſſed the main, though it may be *Monarchie* was the other halfe; and *my Lord*, he ſeduced the King into the *North*, and provoaked your *Lordſhip* unto *Armes*, and hath continued to this day firmely on both ſides, ſo that fall which ſide it will, he concludes to be *Conquerer*; and be eſtabliſhed abſolute *Monarke*, for he ſo deports himſelfe betwixt you both, that both may perſecute, and hitherto he hath too much prevailed with your *Lordſhip*: Therefore *my Lord*, if this *vile Incendiary* (here happily detected and *araigned*) be not cut off from betwixt you, there is no hopes of peace, till the ſword (and it may be famine, and peſtilence too) wreſtle it out to a *Conqueſt* on one ſide; and when all is done, yet peace will not, nor can poſſibly long endure; for where *Perſecution* is, there will be *heart burnings, envyings emulations*, and *murmurings*, which at length will breake out into *Commotions*, *Conſpiracies*, *Inſurrections* and *Rebellions*. And thus *my Lord*, I give place to what ſhall be further evidenced by the *Witneſſes*.

Clar. GAFFAR *CHRISTIAN ſtand up, what can you ſay for the* King *againſt the* Priſoner *at the* Barre?

CHRISTIAN.

My Lord, I have knowne this man by woofull Experience, well nigh 1644 yeares: and my brethren of old, the *Prophets*, bare witneſſe againſt him unto the day of my *Nativity*, that he was in their times the moſt *Peſtilent* Enemy to *Mankind*, to *God and all Goodneſſe*, that ever was borne into the World: and my Lord, I am able to prove his continuance in that curſed *Condition* even unto this day: ſo that he hath lived and ſcaped the hands of Iuſtice above 5660. yeares, and all his dayes hath been a *Murderer and Butcher* of good men, yet ſcarce any conſider it.

Secondly, my Lord, this *Priſoner*, PERSECUTION for *Conſcience, maketh the Goſpel of none effect*, in ſtead of *Sincerity* he ſetteth up *Hypocricy*, inſtead of the *Feare of God*, he ſetteth up *the Terrour of men*: inſtead of the *Simplicity of the Word*, he ſetteth up the *Vſurpation of the Sword*: for my Lord, the compelling of men againſt their *Conſciences*, enforceth ſuch *Inconveniences* and *Impieties* inevitably: Yea my Lord, of ſuch a Divelliſh Spirit is this *Enemy* of, as he exalteth himſelfe againſt the *Mercy of* God *in* Chriſt *toward the ſonnes of men*, to the very prevention thereof to Multitudes, and the tumbling of them headlong without remorſe to the Divell: for they that are blind, they that are *Tares*, who knowes but they may ſee, may become Wheate heereafter: but if they be cut off, (as this mercileſſe *Inhumane Meſcreant uſeth*) for their blindneſſe, how ſhall they ſee? for (*Iſa.* 38.19.) *The Grave cannot praiſe thee, they that goe down into the Pit cannot hope for thy* Truth. *Blaſphemers* may hareafter become faithfull *Witneſſes* of Chriſt, *Act.* 3.3. & 9.5.6. *Idolaters*, true *Worshippers*, no people of God, the people of God, as the *Corinthians*, 1.*Cor.* 6. 9. *& ſome come at* the *firſt, third, ſixt*, *& ſome not till the eleventh houre*, *Mat.* 20. 6. but ſhould thoſe that are in their ſins till the 11. houre be cut off becauſe *they came no ſooner*: *they should have been prevented* from *converſion*, or *coming* at all, as godly King *Edward* moved by his *bloody Biſhops*, to the burning of a godly *Woman* called *Ioan Butcher* (*Fox Act. Mon. p.* 148.4.) anſwered, *will you have me ſend her quicke to the Divell in her errours.* This is the ſervice this PERSECVTION doth, inſtead of building he deſtroyeth, inſtead of ſaving he damneth, under the colours of Chriſt he fighteth for the Divell his Maſter.

Thirdly *my Lord*, his nature is at direct emnity againſt the very command Chriſt gave unto the Apoſtles in the *Generall Commiſſion: Goe teach all Nations*, &c. *Mat.* 28. 19. where *teaching*, not *violent compulſion* is *conſtituted*, and *once for ever ordained* the meanes and only way for *converſion* to the *faith of Ieſus* in *all Nations*: Now *compulſion* and *perſwation* all know are directly oppoſite, as much as to *will* and to *nill*; So that the command of the one by the Authority of the *Father*, *the Son*, *and the Spirit*, is a flat denyall of the other by the ſame Authority: For here (*ver.* 19.20.) by full power of that Authority, *Teaching* is commanded; as, *teach all Nations*, &c. *teaching them to obſerve all things, what ever I have commanded*, &c. Therefore, *all violence*, as by *menaces*, *threates, impriſonments, bodily puniſhments, ſpoyling of goods*, and ſuch like *cruelties* of *this tyrant*, is condemned in all *Nations* as a *meanes for no Nation* in the adminiſtration of the Goſpell.

Fourthly, my Lord, this *Adverſaries* practice, and the Diſcipline of this *old, envious, malignant wretch* here juſtly *araigned* before your *Honour*, is quite contrary to the Apoſtles in their Adminiſtration of the Goſpell; for they did never ſuggeſt, or ſtirre up any Prince, or Majeſtrate, (in whoſe hand is the *compulſive civill power*,) to force ſuch by violence of penall Lawes, Edicts, Ordinances, Impriſonments, or the like, as would not ſuject unto their Goſpel: but on the contrary, gave up themſelves to *ſcorgins, impriſonments, ſtoning*, &c. which this *Enemie* occaſioned againſt them, for the promulgation thereof: And the worſt that they did, or were commanded to doe, to ſuch as would not receive the Goſpell, was but to *ſhake of the duſt from their feete, Mat.* 10.14. *Luke* 10.11. *Acts* 13.51. which was nothing ſo ill, as this *Feind's* fire and faggot, burning, hanging, ſtoning, ſcorging, impriſoning, &c. whoſe nature hath ever been & is alwayes verſant in ſuch cruelties; and yet my Lord, *this ſpawne of Satan*, *this malitious Hypocrite*, doth all under the vizour of Religion, his woolfeiſh nature is never ſeen abroad, but in *sheeps clothing*, *in nomine Domini* he perpetrates all his villany: So that *my Lord*, he is a moſt dangerous inveterate *Antichriſt*, and Arch-traytour to his Majeſty (the *King of Kings*) his royall Crowne and Dignity, and an invadour and deſtroyer of the juſt Liberties, the lives and fortunes of his Majeſties leige people:

Fiftly, *my Lord*, it is againſt the Law of Charity, *not to doe as we would be done unto*: He that hangs a *Iew*, becauſe he will not be a *Chriſtian*, would be loath a *Iew* ſhould reward him in the ſame kind, becauſe he will not be a *Iew*, though in equity he deſerve it, for *innocend blood* requireth *blood*. Yea *my Lord*, to force men and women againſt their conſciences is worſe then to raviſh the bodies of women and Maides againſt their wills: Yea, it is beyond the *Turkish* cruelty, for though the *Turkes* force the bodies of Chriſtians and Strangers to ſlavery, yet they let their conſcience goe free: But our late Idol-blood-ſucking Biſhops, and after them our ravenous *Presbiters*, as towardly *younge Cubbes* forbeare not to force the conſciences of their friend's and neighbours, and impriſon them for walking after the light God hath given them; And *my Lord*, it is this *Malefactour* which rendereth them ſo guilty: Yea *my Lord*, this *Foule Spirit* breathed into them at their *Conſecration* is not yet caſt out of them, *which like a roaring Lion ſeeketh whome it may devoure*: S that if your *Lordships* juſtice doe not ſpeedely interpoſe the *bloody reſolves* and

villanious

villanous intents of our new upſtart *frisking Presbyters*, we ſhall be all devoured by thoſe greedy *Synodian Cormorants*, which if you ſuffer, *Woe* then to your *Lordship* in the *latter Day*, for be aſſured, that all the miſeries, tortures, and torments they inflict upon us, will not only riſe up in judgment againſt them, but even againſt your *Lordship*.

Sixtly *my Lord*, he uſurpeth that to himſelſe, which Chriſt hath referred to the *Laſt Day*, to wit, to judge them that reject him, for *Iohn* 12. 47. 48. *If any man hear my words and beleive not, I judge him not, for I came not to judge the World, but to ſave the World: he that rejecteth me and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him, the word that I have ſpoken, the ſame shall judge him at the laſt day.* And 1. *Cor.* 4. 5. *Iudge nothing before the time untill the Lord come.* And *Mat.* 7. 1. 2. *Iudge not leaſt yee be judged, for with what judgement yee judge, yee shall be judged* &c. and to theſe adde *Iſa.* 11. 4. Therefore no man upon paine of judgement, muſt preſume to judge any in reſpect of Chriſt or his words, but muſt referre it to the laſt day, whoſe word ſhall judge him, and not *Fire and Faggot*, *Hanging and Quartering*, *Impriſoning* &c. ſuch are incompetent Iudges, for to this end Chriſt both died and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and the living. *Let us not therfore judge one another any more, but judge this rather, that no man put a ſtumbling Blocke as an occaſion of fall in his brothers way: for, Who art thou that judgeſt another mans ſervant? to his owne maſter he ſtandeth or falleth.* Rom. 14. 4. We are not equall Iudges one over another in matters of Faith, *Who is it that shall condemne? it is Chriſt that dyed*: What is he that ſhall dare to execute Vengeance for unbeleefe? *He that is innocent let him throw the firſt ſtone.* The Aſſembly (ſurely) will not plead Innocence, and if not, why are they ſo haſty to throw? *Surely, Great is Diana of the Epheſians.* Yet Mr. *Calamy* a man but newly *Metamorphoſed* by a figure which we Rhetoricians call METONOMIA BENEFICII from *Epiſcopallity* to *Presbytery*: upon demand what they would doe with Anabaptiſts, Antinomians &c. tells us, *That they will not meddle with their* Conſciences, *but with their* Bodyes *and* Eſtates. Truly if this be the drift, they are even *leapt out of the Frying pan into the Fire.* If they be fallen, this is not to reſtore them with the Spirit of meeknes. But *my Lord*, Iuſtice upon this Malefactour would cure the Synodians of that Diſeaſe, for *Patience per force is a Medicine for a madde Dogge.* And thus *my Lord*, your Honour hath my Teſtimony of this Malefactour.

Clar. GAFFAR MARTYRS, What can you ſay for the King againſt the *Priſoner* at the Barre?

MARTYRS.

My Lord, Had not my *life been hid in Ieſus Chriſt, who is God of the living,* *and not of the dead*, for though dead in the grave; yet I live unto him, to be raiſed and revived at the *laſt day*; or could the arme of fleſh ſuppreſſe the *cry of blood*, my witneſſe would have beene diſinabled: for this Malefactour PERSECUTION perſecuted me even to the death; ſo that my voyce is no other then the *cry of blood*, even of the Prophets and Martyrs of Ieſus, that you heare; for *my Lord*, ſuch hath been his cruelty to me to ſuppreſſe my Teſtimony againſt him while I was living, that all the tortures and torment wit and malice could invent, he with his *blood-thirſty Clergy* deviſed againſt, and executed upon me, whereby I was moſt baberouſly murthered; ſo that *my Lord*, I have no other voyce left me, then that of *blood, ſpilt for the Word of God and the teſtimony of Ieſus, crying with a loud voyce, how long O Lord holy and true doſt thou not avenge our blood?* I could enlarge my ſelfe into a Sea of blood againſt him, diſcover him drunken with the blood of the Saints and Martyres of Ieſus: yea *my Lord*, Articles of all manner of impiety againſt God, and all goodneſſe, Treaſons, Rebellions, &c. I could exhibite againſt him, but my faithfull brother, that pore deſpiſed CHRISTIAN, hath moſt juſtly witneſſed abundantly againſt him: And there is yet an other faithfull Witneſſe to give in his *Evidence*, Gaffar *LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE*, who I know, is thoroughly furniſhed with matters of higheſt concernement againſt him, to whoſe juſt *Evidence* I ſhall give place.

Clar. Gaffar *LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE, what can you ſay for the King againſt the Priſoner at the Barre?*

Priſoner. *My Lord*, before he proceed, be pleaſed to heare the juſt exceptions, Sir *Symon Synod* and Sir *Iohn Presbyter* after their ſo long and ſerious *conſultation* have deviſed and contrived, why his Teſtimony ſhould not be heard, as an unfit Witneſſe in ſuch a caſe as this.

Iuſtice Reaſ. *My Lord, if Baal be God, let him plead for himſelfe.*

Iudge. And reaſon good: For the judgment of this Court is not to be ſwayed by favour, affection, humour of multitudes, or the like, but by Reaſon and equity it ſelfe: Wherefore for the more free and juſt proceding herein this Court *Ordaineth* and *Proclameth* freedome for both ſides, one as well as the other, whether *Presbyterian Tormentours* or *Independant Sufferers* to give in their groundes and reaſones to the *Sentence* of this Court, whether LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE be tollerable, and his Evidence to be received. Wherefore Sir *Symon*, if you have any thing why this mans *witneſſe* may be diſinabled, you have liberty to ſpeake.

Sir SYMON SYNOD.

My Lord, *this fellow* LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE, *is a Free-willer, a looſe Libertine, one that opens a gate to all manner of prophanes, in what* Countrey *or* State *ſoever he gets intertainement, a man of all Religions and of no Religion, a compound of all hereſies, ſciſme, and faction; a peſtelent enemie to Nationall Conformity, our late* Solemne League and Covenant, *a Tratour to your late* ſacred and bleſſed Ordinance for Tythes, a worke of Superarrogation! *a* Confuter *of our mighty Champions Mr.* Prinne, Edwards, *&c. He is for no* Reformation, *but ſtrives to fruſtrate all my endeavours, and the pious ends of the reſt of my holy brethren of the* Tribe of Levi, *for the advancement of the Church of God,* the Clergie of the Land, *with eccleſiaſticall Revenue, and power coercive to curbe oppoſition, and force* Reformation to Presbyterian Governement: *yea* my Lord, *this is he that would reduce the Nationall Reformation of this Kingdome, ſo much endeavoured by your ne* Lordſhip, *even to open looſenſſe, every man to be of what Religion he liſt, every mecannicke illiterate fellow to turne* Preacher, *and be as good as their* Miniſter, *no diſtinction made betwixt the* Clergie *and the* Laity, *our* Canonicall Coates, Girdles long Cloakes *and* Blacke Gownes *made a diriſion, a taunt, and a curſe, as ominous as Lawne ſleeves and as hatefull as a Miter, our* holy Tythes, *as of* Lambe, Pigge, Gooſe, *&c. be turned into* voluntary Contribution, *oh inſufferable ſacraledge!* from the good will of the people good Lord preſerve us x *yea* my Lord *the* upper hand *in publike places,* (the Clergies delight) *as, in* ſtreets, *at* feaſts, &c. be deny'd us, *the reverent eſtimation of our* Coate *be paſt either* Cap, Congue, Cur'tſey, *no difference betwixt the* Black Caſſaocke *and the* Louthren Iacket, *and all our goodly fat* Benefices *turnd to the labour of our hands* (alas my Lord, we were never brought up to labour, we cannot digge, and to begge we are aſham'd) *our* deluſions, falſe Gloſſes, Sophiſtications, *and* godly pretences *be detected, and divulged, and ſo all things that are dainty and goodly to depart from us*: alas, alas my Lord! *this will undoe the* Clergie *quite, we may leave our* Callings, *and learne new* Trades, *if we turne* Coblers, Tinckers, *and* Weavers *we may chance get conſtant worke, is not, now and then a* job of preaching *amongſt the people;* Conſider my Lord, *it will put out the* two eyes of the Kingdome: *Much more I could ſay, but I ſhall give way to my Son* Sir Iohn, *who by your Lordſhips favour ſhall further informe this* Court *in the defence of this* Priſoner

x or rather
to [illegible]
dividing
saying
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brother
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urs; because
us not to
the good
will of
the vulgar

Iudge. Well Sir Symon, this being a buſines of high concernment, either what you or your Sir *Iohn*, or what any man elſe can ſay in the behalfe of his Majeſty concerning the Priſoner, this Court freely permitteth, yea commandeth Information thereof.

Clar. Call Sir Iohn Presbyter, ſonne to Sir Symon.

I. Reaſ. Magus.

Crier. Sir Iohn Presbyter ſonne to Sir Symon come into the Court.

Iudge. Sir Iohn your Father hath informed us, that you have, matter of exception againſt LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE, if you have, the mercy of the Court permitteth the Priſoner the benefit thereof.

Sir

Sir *IOHN PRESBYTER.*

My Lord, My Reaſons againſt LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE, why both himſelfe and his *Evidence* is to be rejected, are theſe.

1. Becauſe I ſuppoſe it muſt needs be granted, that the Majeſtrate is *cuſtos ac vindex utriuſque Tabulæ*, (as is confeſſed by all Orthodox Divines) that the care of Religion belongs to him: And becauſe *Auſtin* and other Divines on *Pſal.* 2. 10. 11. and on *Deut.* 17. 19. give unto Mageſtrates that power. Ergo. *Edwards Antipol. pag.*280.

[*I. Reaſ. States-men muſt weare Bells about their neckes, becauſe antient Divines ſay, Kings are but Packe-horſes to the Clergie.*]

2. Becauſe in this Kingdome the Reformation in Worſhip, Government, &c. which ſhalbe ſetled and eſtabliſhed by your Lordſhip is judged and taken for granted by you to be according to the mind of Chriſt; elſe why hath your Lordſhip called ſo many able, godly, and learned Divines (of us) to conſult with for that purpoſe? and why elſe will yõu eſtabliſh it, if there be any other more agreable to the Word? Ergo. *pag.* 281.

[*I Reaſ. The Synod is guided by the Holy Ghoſt ſent in a Cloake-bag from Scotland, as of old from Rome to the Councell of Trent,* Concil. Trent. lib. 6. p. 497.

3. Becauſe it is againſt the ſolemne League and Covenant for Reformation, taken by the Parliament and Kingdome of *England* and *Scotland*, and ſo cannot be condeſcended to in *England* without the breach of that Oath and Covenant: So that all *Apollogie* and motion for Toleration comes too late, the dore is *ſhut* againſt it, the Kingdomes hands are bound, ſo that if a Toleration were not in it ſelfe unlawfull, and againſt the duty of the Majeſtrate, yet now becauſe of the Oath and Covenant 'tis unlawfull; ſo that whatſoever might have been granted before, cannot be now, leaſt the Kingdome ſhould be guilty before God of Covenant breaking. Ergo. *pag.* 282. & 283.

[*I. Reaſ. Becauſe the* Aſſembly *hath ſadled the Parliament, it is unlawfull for the* Presbyters *to goe afoote.* Ergo, *Perſecution was unlawfull when the Prieſts were perſecuted, but now it is lawfull they perſecute.* Ergo, *Toleration was lawfull, and the duty of the Majeſtrate when the power was in the hands of the Biſhops, but now the Presbyters are crowding into S.* Peters Chaire, *the Parliament is bound to compell all men to the Decrees of the Aſſembly, as that impudent, and deſperate Incendiary* Mr. Edwards *boldly and openly affirmeth, an Aſſertion able to divide the Kingdome in twenty peeces.*]

4. Becauſe it is againſt the greateſt lights in the Church both antient and moderne, as *Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Calvine, Phillip Melancton, Zinchius, Muſculus, Bullinger,* likewiſe the judgement of the Devines of *New England* are *pag.* 281.

againſt the Toleration of any Church Governement and way but one, they will not ſuffer *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, &c. Mr. *Cotton* the greateſt Divine in *New England*, and a pretious man, is againſt Toleration, and holds that men may be puniſhed for their Conſciences, as will appeare by his Letter to Mr. *Williams*. Ergo.

[*I. Reaſ. Presbyterian Governement is unlawfull, becauſe Mr.* Cotton *condemnes it in his Booke intituled*, The Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven.]

pag. 289. 5. Becauſe at this time for want of ſetled Governement, people being left to ſo great liberty, multitudes are fallen, and doe daily to *Antinomianiſme*, *Anabaptiſme*, *Independancy*, yea to deny the *Immortality of the ſoule*: Ergo,

[*I. Reaſ. One* Anabaptiſt, Independant, *or the like, that can render a Reaſon for what he holds, is better then ſeaven* Presbyters *that conclude from ſuch bald Promiſes., Prov.* 26. 16.] [Here the Authour of that Booke, intituled, *Mans Mortality*, deſires Mr. *Edwards* with thoſe that are ſo invective againſt it in their Pulpits that they would ceaſe their railing at it there, and come forth in Print againſt it; for the thing being ſo rare, ſo litle queſtioned, and the contrary ſo generally concluded as a principle of faith, any *bumbaſt ſtuffe* will paſſe there for authentike with the people without tryall, but if it be put forth to publike vew, it muſt expect an encounter by one or other, and therein the Authour of that Booke obſerveth the policie of his Presbyterian Adverſaries to maintaine their repute with the people, in being ſo haſty in the Pulpit and ſo ſlow to the Preſſe]

pag. ibid. 6. *Independants*, and all kind of *Sectaries* as long as they have their liberty, ſnuffe up the wind, and will not hearken to any way whereby they may receive ſatisfaction; but if once the Majeſtrate declares, and by Lawes concludes one way of Church Worſhip, it may be they will heare reaſon. Ergo,

[*I. Reaſ. It ſeemes the Presbyters till then can render them none, for the reaſon and force of that Argument lies in* take him Goaler. Ergo, *If once the Majeſtrate declares, and by Lawes concludes all the fat Benefices of the Kingdome upon* Independancie, *then it may be the* Presbyters *will beare reaſon and turne* Independants.]

pag. 294. 7. *Independancie* hath ever been from the firſt to the laſt, a Fountaine of evill, roote of bitternes, diviſions, &c. as the Hiſtories of the Anabaptiſts (the higheſt forme of *Independancy*, and Church way) declare, in reſpect of the evils they fell into, and the miſcheifes they brought upon *Germany*, and how God curſed and ſcattered them. Ergo,

[1. Reaſ. *If the King conquer, the Parliament wilbe Traytours to poſterity by Cronicle; for who writ the Hiſtories of the Anabaptiſts but their Enemies?*]

pag. 297. 8. *My Lord*, becauſe the Presbyterian way hath been countenanced from Heaven, and bleſſed from ſorts of ſects, &c. and that for almoſt an hundered yeares: Ergo,

[I. Reaſ. *Both Papall and Epiſcopall is better then Preſbyterian, for they are, and have been more uniforme, and have continued many hundred yeares longer then Preſbyterian, and were long before Preſbytrie was thought on: for alas, it was but a ſhift at a pinch the Divell made, when neither of the other would ſerve his turne; and ſo came up Preſbytrie, but what good the Divell will have on't I know not; for* who knowes the lucke of a louſie Curre, he may prove a good Dog?]

9. *My Lord*, If Toleration of Government though not of Doctrine ſhould be granted, then the ſimple Anabaptiſts, and that ſimple ſort called *Dippers* will come in too, ſaying, that Baptiſme at ſuch an age, and Baptizing in Rivers by *Dipping* are but matters of order and time: Ergo, *Pag. 302.*

[I. Reaſ. *He that deſembleth hatred with lying lips, and he that inventeth ſlander is a foole, Pro.* 10. 18.]

Wherefore I humbly beſeech your *Lordſhip*, ſeriouſly to conſider the depth of Satan in this Deſigne, of Toleration, how this is now his laſt Plot and Deſigne, and by it would undermine and fruſtrate the whole worke of Reformation, 'tis his Maſter peece for *England*. I am confident if the Divell had his choyce, whether the Hierarchie, Ceremonies, and Liturgie ſhould be eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome, or a Toleration granted, he would chuſe and preferre a Toleration before them. *Pag. 303.* *Pag. 304.*

[I. Human. *That is of Preſbyterian Compulſion, becauſe Epiſcopall in* England *is worne out of Date:* Mr. Edwards *knowes the Divell is not ſo ſimple, to chuſe Hierarchie, Ceremonies, &c. where their deceit is detected, hated, and rejected, it ſeemes he's better acquainted with him then ſo, the next time he writes, we ſhall have more of the Divels mind, but it is likely he'll have finiſhed his Deſigne firſt, and then it may be,* Mr. Edwards *will tell us, that the Divell is better perſwaded of Preſbytrie (his laſt ſhift) then ever he was of Epiſcopacie, he will be ſo ſerviceable to him therein, for if* Mr. Edwards *and the Divell be not deceived, he intends with it to devoure, breake in peeces, aud ſtampe the reſidue the Hierarchie hath left under his feete, ſo to weare out the Saints of the moſt High.*]

And thus *my Lord*, you have my Reaſons, why this fellow *LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE* is not to have admittance within the verge of this Kingdom, much leſſe to enter thus into the bowels of this Court to give in Evidence, to be proceeded on upon the life and death of this holy man, Mr. *PERSECVTION*.

Lib. Conſ. My Lord, *Sir Iohn's* a pritty forward child, that can pratle thus before he have his teeth; thy ſay he hath been breeding of teeth ever ſince the the *Aſſembly* were in conſulation; ſurely they'll be huge, long, boariſh tuskes when they come out; ſhould your Lordſhip but cauſe his mouth to be opened, you might ſee *great iron teeth* lie in his gummes, ready to *cut*, he wants nothing but a *Parliament Corall* to whet them with all:

but *my Lord*, were he mine, I would knock out his braines with an *Independant Hammer*, to prevent the groweth of ſuch teeth, for *Daniell* tels us the nature of *great iron teeth*. Now whereas *my Lord*, he excepteth againſt my witneſſe, I humbly conceive, the equity of this Cours cannot receive his exception againſt me in the juſtification of this Butcher and murtherer of good men, ſeeing himſelfe is a mercileſſe in humane Butcher, the ſon of a Butcher, yea *my Lord*, his Grand-father and Great-Grand-father were Butchers; for whereas *my Lord*, he hath acquired the name of *Sir Iohn Presbyter*, in truth he is a Prieſt, the ſon of a Biſhop, Grand-child to the Pope, and the Divell is his Great-Grand-father, all murtherers and Butchers of Gods people. Therefore *good my Lord* let not mine *Evidence* be thus unjuſtly diſinabled.

Iudge. LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE, you are ſworne for the King, to give in your *Evidence* in his Majeſties behalfe againſt the Priſoner at the Bar; and the *challonge* againſt you being ſuch as may be diſpene'd with, you are to proceed in your *Evidence*.

LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE.

My Lord, To what the former *Evidence* have teſtified I ſhall with brevity adde, that this Malefactour PERSECUTION deſtroyeth the Innocent with the wicked, contrary to the commaund of Chriſt, *Mat.* 13. 30. *let the tares and the wheat grow together untill the harveſt*, from which *Parable* appeareth, that the *Kingdome of heaven* or *Chriſts* Government over the whole world doth ſtrictly charge his *ſervants*, the Kings and Rulers of the Earth (for *by him Kings raigne*) to ſuffer *tares*; Turckes, Jewes, Pagans, and Infidels, as wel as Chriſtians to *grow* or live together in the *Feild* of the *World*, their Dominions untill the *Day of harveſt*, or deſolution of all things, and not plucke them up, becauſe they are *Tares*, *Turckes*, *Iewes*, *Pagans*, &c. leaſt they plucke up ſuch as may become as the *Pillars of Solomon* in the Houſe of God, even glorious witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt: What greater Rebellion therefore can there be by thoſe *Servants* to the *Houſholder*, then to *plucke up the tares from the wheat?* As their office brings all under their Dominions, ſo it is to preſerve all in their Dominions, that *tares* and *wheate*, Infidell and Beleever may *grow* and live peaceably together in civill cohabitation, commerce, &c. in their Dominions untill the *Harveſt*, or end of all things, when the *Lord of the Harveſt* ſhal *ſeperate the tares from the wheat*, with *come yee bleſſed, goe yee curſed*, &c.

Secondly *my Lord*, he depriveth the *Iewes* (as much as in him lieth) of their deliverance according to the Covenant God made with their Fathers from this their Captivity, notwithſtanding the wrath of the Lord threatned againſt them, that ſhall evill entreat them therein, *Zach.* 2. 8. *Eſa.* 54. 15. 17.

cap. 15.22.23. for *my Lord*, he hath made the name of a *Iew* as hatefull as *Iudas*; yea, his nature is not to leave a man of them to piſſe againſt the wall. Now *my Lord*, though the *Iewes* are led captive by the *Gentiles* under the time of the *Goſpell*, and though the *naturall branches are broaken off*, and the Heathen *grafted in*, yet ſtill *they are beloved for their Fathers ſakes. Rom.* 11.28. and are not to be perſecuted for their infidelity, for *he that toucheth them, toucheth the apple of Gods eye*: What though they are *ſtumbled? ſhall we boaſt our ſelves against them?* God forbid; for *if wee that are wild by nature, be grafted contrary to nature into the good Olive Tree, how much more ſhall they which are naturall branches be grafted into their owne Olive Tree againe?* Therefore the Apoſtle *would not have us ignorant of this Myſtery, that blindneſſe in part is hapned to Iſrael untill the fulneſſe of the Gentiles be come in, and all Iſrael ſhalbe ſaved, Rom.* 11.25.26. compared to *Iſa.* 49.22.23. *Deut.* 30.1.2.4.5. *Amos* 9.14.15. Now what hindereth their ſalvation and deliverance ſo much as perſecution, for they are even led captive by PERSECUTION, and made ſlaves to him even to this day? And how ſhal they beleive, if they ſhal have no time given them to beleive? this *diveliſh Spirit* gives them not a minute, he will not ſuffer a Jew to live amongſt the Chriſtians, or come neare him: what hopes then is there the Iewes ſhould be converted, where this Tyrant is in force? Shall we that have receive *vantage* by their *rejection*, thus recompence them with tyranny? our *Lord* whome they ſlew, would not have them ſlayen, but they are beloved of him, and himſelfe will be their Deliverer, *Rom.* 11.26.27.28. yet this Incendiary hath cauſed our Kings, and our Rulers, our Biſhops and our preiſts not to ſuffer a Iew by authority to live amongſt them; how then can we complaine of the vengance that is at this time upon us & our children, that have been ſo cruel, ſo hatefull, ſo bloody minded to them and their children? we have given them the *cup of Trembling*, ſurely we muſt *taſt of the dregges*: Hearken therefore no longer to thoſe which teach this bloody doctrine of perſecution, for neither they, their *preachings, faſtings, weepings, long prayers,* &c. can deliver in the day of *diſtreſſe*, as long as ye perſecute *Behold, yee faſt for ſtrife and debate, and to ſmite with the* Presbyterian *fiſt of wickedneſſe; but this is the Faſt which the Lord hath choſen, to undoe the heavy burthen, and to let the oppreſſed goe free, and that yee breake every yoake.*

Thirdly *my Lord*, He is a murtherer of Kings and Princes, &c. for the murthering of *heriticke Princes* is the naturall brat of this diveliſh Spirit; for from this ground, *that the contrary minded are to be forced*, the Papiſts juſtifie the murthering of *Hereticks*, making all *Heretickes* which ſeperate from them; for that Religion that is bottomed on this *principle* that *all muſt be forced, will they, nill they*, where it cannot *force*, muſt murther: ſo cometh it to paſſe, ſo many Kings have been *murthered*, by the Papiſts, becauſe caſting of the *Romiſh yoake*, they free themſelves from their power of forcing, therefore the

Papiſts to make good their courcive principle, betake themſelves *privately to murther ſuch Princes*, to prevent a countermanding power, and keep all in their *catholicke ſubjection*; ſo that ſuch as would have *all forced*, where they cannot *force*, is to be feared, will *privately murther*: Therefore it is dangerous for a King, *to truſt his perſon with ſuch men*, for if the King ſhould *change his Religion*, to one oppoſite to theirs, who knowes, thoſe men will not doe as their principle leads them, even *murther their Prince*; but on the contrary, that *Religion* that is grounded on the principle of *meekeneſſe*, *patience*, *and long ſufferance*, *inſtructing the contrary minded*, and utterly conteſting againſt all *compulſion*, cannot in the leaſt meaſure adminiſter any feare or danger unto *Princes of their perſons*, be of what *Religion they will*, for be they of any *Religion* or of no *Religion*, for *matter of violence* it is *all one* to the Spirit of meekeneſſe, for its nature is only to perſwade, not to compell; if by faire meanes it cannot prevaile, it hath done, committing the iſſue to God.

Fourthly *my Lord*, He is an utter enemy to all ſpirituall knowledge, a hinderer of its encreaſe and groweth; for no man knoweth but in part, and what wee know, we receive it by degrees, now a litle, and then a litle; he that knowes the moſt, was once as ignorant as he that knowes the leaſt; nay, is it not frequent amongſt us, that the thing that we judged hereſie we now beleive is orthodox; now can ſuch thinke themſelves were worthy to beene perſecuted in, and for that their ignorance? they cannot ſure be of that mind; ſuch therefore cannot condemne, impriſon, or hang the ignorant, or ſuch as diſcover or oppoſe their ignorance, but in that they condemne themſelves, ſinne againſt nature and their own knowledge: The *twelve at Epheſus* that had not ſo much as heard *whether there were a Holy Ghoſt or no*, if they had been ſo evilly uſed by *Paul* when he heard it, how ſhould they ſpake with tongues, and propheſied? yet we ſee how common a thing it is, if we know not, nor beleive ſo much as the multitude knoweth or beleiveth, or the Doctrine of the *Presbyterean Church* requireth, we muſt be perſecuted; and if our knowledge goe beyond them, that we proteſt againſt their errours, and labour to informe them better, we muſt taſt of the ſame ſauce too, ſo that wee muſt know nor beleive neither more nor leſſe then they, but muſt beleive juſt as they beleive, or elſe be perſecuted; as if a Statute ſhould be enacted, that an *Image* ſhould be made, and all that were higher or lower then the *Image* ſhould be hanged: By this we may ſee, what an unreaſonable thing it is evilly to entreat ſuch as we judge ignorant and erroneous, or all to be erronious and heriticall that we underſtand not our ſelves: What ſhall we ſay then of ſuch *Miniſters*, that of rationall creatures would teach us to be thus unreaſonable? *their end is deſtruction*, *their belly their God*, *they ſerve the* Parliament *but for their owne bellyes*, *and by good words and faire ſpeeches deceive the ſimple*: Theſe uphold the accurſed Doctrine of *Perſecution*, leaſt liberty of *printing*,

printing, *writing*, *teaching*, ſhould diſcover their deceipts, and they be dis-inherited of their *Fathers Inheritance*; their intents are plaine to him that hath but halfe an eye to ſee, they'l not doe much, only change the title, before it was *Epiſcopal Prelacy*, it ſhall be now but *Preiſtly* or *Preſlyterian Prelacy*, ſo that, he that lives but a ſmall time ſhall ſurely ſee a *Presbyter* as fat as ever was a *Bishop*; thoſe are enemies to all knowledge, that is either too ſhort or beyond their bellyes, therefore is it, that all heads muſt be made even with the *Presbyters*, none *higher* nor none *lower*, juſt as *tall*, and no *taller*, *he that is too short muſt be ſtretched out, and he that is too long muſt be pared even*, leaſt they ſhould miſſe of their Prayers, *give us this day our dayly tythes*, that the *Germaine proverbe* might be fulfilled, *phophen geizegkeite*, *Gottes barmehartzegkite*, *were bis in ebekeite*, the coveteouſneſſe of the Preiſts and the mercy of God endure for ever; I would exhort them to be otherwiſe minded, but that I know, *venter non habet aures*, the belly hath no eares.

Priſ. My Lord, *I beſeech you heare me after this tedious Accuſation, it is falſe and malitious, as by ſound reaſon, and Perſonages of Honour I shall clearly evidence: Firſt* my Lord, *as for* GODS VENGANCE *my* Proſecutour, *both the* Iuries, *with divers others, together with the witneſſes, enforced him to proſecute me, and I know not by what pretence they procured* GODS VENGANCE *againſt me; for* my Lord, *I am innocent, and ever have been from my* Cradle *from ſuch and ſo hainous accuſation, as is laid to my charge: And for that fellow, that pretends he hath knowne me ſince the comeing of Chriſt, he is a man of no reputation, without habitation, a beggerly fellow, a runagate, a looſe fellow, he ſtayes in no place, keeps no hoſpitallity, blaſpheameth that moſt divine, Liviticall, ever to adored* Ordinance for Tythes, *and counteth it as an unholy thing, paies none where he lives, but sharkes here and there, where he can shufle in his head, runnes from houſe to houſe, to delude ſimple women, who are ever learning, and never learned; and where as he ſaith, his name is* CHRISTIAN, *his name is not* CHRISTIAN, *neither is he of the generation of Chriſtianity, but a moſt factious diſſembling Anabaptiſt, a Tubpreacher, and no Chriſtian, as* Sir Symon, Sir Iohn, *and divers other reverend, and honourable* perſons *here preſent can* witneſſe: *As for* Gaffar Martyrs, *he is* as a ſounding braſſe and tinckling Cymball, who though he giveth up his body to be burnt, himſelfe is but a caſtaway, *and this I am able to make good unto your* Honour, *by the moſt grave, and ſolid judgment of all the reverend Divines*, the Clergie of Chriſtendome: *Therefore my Lord, it much mattereth not, what his Evidence is, it being but the malice of an Hereticke: And as for* LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, Sir Symon, *and that bleſſed babe, his Sonne* Sir Iohn, (*ſanctiſied from his mothers wombe, the* Synodian Whore of Babylon,) *hath informed your* Honour *of the unworthyneſſe of his witneſſe.* My Lord, *I deſire* Sir Symon *may ſpeake in my defence.*

Sir *Symon.* My Lord, this Gentleman here arraigned, is altogether innocent from this accuſation, I have had antient familiarity with him, a dayly ſociety hath paſt betwixt us, and I never could find any ſuch thing in him, and my Lord, here is Mr. *Pontificall Revenue*, Mr. *Eccleſiaſticall Supremacy*, Mr. *Nationall Confirmity*, Mr. *Rude Multitude*, Mr. *Scotch Government*, and mine only Sonne, *Sir Iohn Presbyter*, all to witnes his innocency from this Accuſation: And if your *Lordship* make any ſcruple hereof, that learned Gentleman, *Iuſtas Conformity, of Lincolns Inne Eſq.* can thoroughly reſolve you, *both by Scripture Texts, Preſidents of all ſorts, and the conſtant interrupted practiſes, examples, of the moſt eminent Emperours, Princes, Councels, Parliaments,* &c.

Lib. Conſ. My Lord, the *Defendant* ſmels of a *fat benefice*; ſee, ſee, his pockets are full of *Presbyterian Steeples*, the *Spires* ſticke under his *Girdle: ha, ha, hah*; inſtead of *Weather-cocks*, every *Spire* hath got a *Blacke Boxe* upon it, and in it the pure and immaculate *Ordinance for Tythes, Oblations*, &c. Sure ſhortly, inſtead of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and the *Two Tables*, we ſhall have Sir *Symon*, and Sir *Iohn* holding the *late ſolemne League and Covenant*, and that demure, ſpotleſſe, pritty, lovely, ſacred, divine, devout, and holy *Ordinance for Tythes* (the *Two Tables* of our new *Presbyterian Goſpell*) painted upon all the Churches in *England.* Oh brave Sir *Symon*, the *Bels* in your pocket chime *all in* while ours chime *all-out*: I pray you give us a *Funerall Homile* for your friend here before he *depart*, here's *twenty ſhillings* for your paines, you know't is ſacraledge to bring downe the price, *As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, world without end. Amen.*

Crier. *Make way there for the Iurie.*

The Iurie withdraw, and thus fall into debate about their verdict.

Creation. Gentlemen, from the *Evidence* of the *Witneſſes* againſt PERSECUTION, I clearely perceive, that he is of ſo diveliſh and unnaturall diſpoſition, as is not computible with the workes of the Creation, all creaturs of a kind aſſociate, feed, and converſe together, there is a publicke freedome of all kinds amongſt themſelves, the *Oxe*, the *Aſſe*, the *Sheep*, and all ſorts of *Cattell*; the *Dove*, the *Sparrow*, and all kinds of *Birds* have a State harmony, a publike Toleration, generall Concord and unity among themſelves in their ſeverall kinds: but this *Malefactour* as from the *Witneſſes* is evident, unnaturallizes *man-kind* above all kinds of Creatures, that where he rules, no peace publike, or private; no freedome, rights, or liberty either civil or ſpirituall; no ſociety, cohabitation, or concord Nationall nor Domeſticke can poſſibly be amongſt men, but *envying, hatred, emulation, baniſhment*, &c. Wherefore, from the conſideration hereof, and of what the Witneſſes have given in, to me he appeareth *guilty*, what ſay you Mr. *Goſpell?*

Goſp. Mr. *Foreman*, Whereas it is by Sir *Iohn* and ſuch like urged, that the Kings of the *Gentiles* have equall power with the Kings of *Iſrael* of old: underſtand, that their ſupremacy was but for a time, *untill Shiloh came*, and no longer, *to whome then the gathering of the people should be ; he came to take away the Firſt, that he might eſtablish the Second, being made Mediatour of a better Covenant, eſtablished on better promiſes,* the forgiveneſſe of ſinnes, and the guift of eternall life : *But he that deſpiſed Moſes Laws, dyed without mercy under two or three witneſſes.* The old Covenant was over the *Old man*, and its Condemnation or puniſhment was over the *Old man*, to wit, this corruptable fallen State of Mortallity, and therefore they executed death upon the tranſgreſſors thereof. The *New Covenant* is over the *New man*, to wit, the *Spirit* that ſhall be raiſed out of this corruptable at the *Reſurrection*; therefore hath it the promiſe of *forgivineſſe of ſins*, and *eternall life*; the penalty of that, temporall death, the death of the *Old* or *earthly man* in this life; the penalty of this, *everlaſting death*, the death of the *New* or *ſpirituall man* in the life to come; wee are *New Creatures* or *New men* now but by faith, not actuall till the Reſurrection, we are to live as if we were raiſed againe, for the condition of the *Goſpell* is not to us, as the Condition of *Innocency* was to *Adam*, a Condition in this preſent State of this preſent State, as his was to him, to wit, the Condition of immortallity in immortallity; but ours a condition in preſent mortallity of future immortallity: ſo is it, that *mortallity being ſwallowed up of life*, we are preſently under the end of its Condition, *Salvation*, or *Condemnation.* Therefore as the Reſurrection cannot poſſibly be but by Chriſt, ſo the penalty cannot poſſibly be by other; it is out of the Spear of this world, therefore out of the power of the Princes of this world, as they cannot be *Mediatours of the New Teſtament*, ſo they cannot be *punishers* therein; Therefore to puniſh the Offenders therein, is to attempt the *Throne* of *Chriſt*, and uſurpe (as much as in them lieth) his *Mediatourship:* Therefore hath he referred the contemners of his Goſpell untill the *Iudgment* of the *Laſt Day*. And for that in *Iſaiah* 49.23. *And Kings shall be thy nurſing Fathers, and Queens thy nurſing Mothers* : it is a Propheſie of the deliverance of the *Iewes* from their *Captivity*, to whom *Kings* and *Queens* ſhall be aſſiſtant in their returne to the *Land* of their *Foreſathers*, as *ver.* 19.22.23.26.&c. witneſſe.

Politicke Power. Mr. Foreman, *Salvus populi*, the ſafety of the people, is the *Soveraigne Law*, or fundamentall conſtitution of Civill Government: therefore though Majeſtracy hath been corrupted and abuſed, (as appeareth by our *Evidence*) to the terrour of the moſt virteous, conſcientious, well-minded men, and the maintenance and protection of the wicked; ſo that it hath been perverted from the generall good if all *ſorts, ſects, and ſocieties* of people, unto this or that *ſort* or *ſect*; yet this evill in Majeſtracy is to be cut off, *ne pars ſincera trahatur.* And Mr. *Foreman*, it appears by our *Evidence*, that PERSECUTION is the originall of the diſeaſe, therefore to be cut off, leaſt the whole *politique body* periſh: For where *Perſecution* is, what *diſſentions, mutinies, tumults, inſurrections, uproares*, and *diviſions*; what *con-*

ſpiracies , *Treaſons* and *Rebellions* ; what *bloodſhed, cruelty, and inhumanity* hath been by our *Evidence* declared , the which by our owne experience we find verified in divers *Kingdomes* , *States* , and *Provinces* : for doe we not ſee , betwixt the *Catholicke Cauſe* and the *True Proteſtant Religion* (ſo cal'd) the *Chriſtian world* is *embrewed with blood*, deſtroying and devouring one an other : the daſhing of thoſe two imperious, ambitious , inſolent Religions , the *Papall* and *Proteſtant* together beſides what it hath done to the *Houſe* of *Auſtrea*, &c. hath ſplit the *Dominions* of this *politique body* aſunder, that they wallow in one an others vitall blood, *burning*, *deſtroying*, and *ruinating* all before them ; how many *Townes* , *Villages* , and *ſumpteous buildings* have been burnt? what *Tillage* and *Meddowes* laid waſt , and how many *thouſands of innocent ſoules* have been *ſlayen* in *Ireland* contrary to the end and foundation of *politique Government*? and doth not *England* taſt *even the dregges of this Cup , yea ſwallow it downe with greedynes , that we are even drunke with one an others blood , enraged with madneſſe , cruelties* , &c. without all hopes of peace till one of theſe *perſecuting Religions* have devoured the other.

Mr. *State-policie*. Mr. *Foreman*, though from *Rome* , the ſpirit of *Perſecution* is conveyed into moſt sects of *Religion*, and is dayly found to the ſhame of *Religion* among ſuch as are or would be counted *religious* , and moſt *States*, and *Kingdomes* being rent with ſuch *perſecuting Religions* , therefore the *Kingdoms* of *Chriſtendome* have judged the Toleration of divers *Sects* inconſiſtent with *State policy* ; yet *Politians* would they conſider , need not in curing one miſcheife run upon a greater ; for ſuch good and wholeſome meanes might be provided , as in a ſmall time this *violent ſpirit* might be worne out , the next *generation* be of a better temper,and and length *Perſecution* to be as rare as now common,and a more placable peaceable ſpirit conſiliated among the generality of men : And ſeeing this impatient , violent , ambitious ſpirit is ſo dangerous to Civill Societies,their freindſhip & unity,ſo deſtructive to publike peace and ſafety : It is therefore neceſſary, that Kings and all Governours , whoſe Office is , *that all may lead a peaceable and quiet life under them* , ſhould in policy to the generall good , ſee to the ſecuring of their *Dominions* from this factious ſpirit,by ſuch wholeſome ſtrict Lawes as may beſt conduce to the ſuppreſſion thereof , as of *Treaſon* , *Rebellion* , or the like; for all are *Traytours and Rebels* in their hearts to the publike peace, and generall good of humaine ſocieties,*ſalus populi* , *the peoples ſafety*, (which our State counteth the *ſupreame Law*) which are of a perſecuting ſpirit ; for it is in direct oppoſition to that Law ; And who more guilty then the *Papiſt* and the *Proteſtant*, when one is too mighty for the other , the *Papiſt* ſtronger then the *Proteſtant* , the *Proteſtans* ſtronger then the *Papiſt* , the ſtronger is ſo ambitious and fiery zealous for his owne cauſe , eſpecially the *Papiſt* , that one place is too hot for them both, and the *Proteſtant* as he is a perſecutour of the *Papiſt* , ſo as well as the Papiſt , is he a

Perſecutour of *Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Antinominians, Independants*, &c. but they perſecute none, but ſeeke the generall good, peace, and ſafety of all *Sorts, Sects*, and *Societies* of people, yea even of their Enemies; ſo that as Papiſts are Enemies and Traytours to the ſafety of all *Sorts, Sects*, and *Societies*, ſo are the Proteſtants, conſidered in this perſecuting capacity, both perſecuting; therefore in this ſenſe their *Religions* are both *trayterous, deſperate*, and *dangerous* to the *Publike Good*: Therefore it ought to be the care of thoſe Kingdomes and States where thoſe perſecuting Religions are, to purge thoſe Religions of this *malignant perſecuting ſpirit*, this *trayterous-diſpoſition*, for Religions may be abſolute, yea the Proteſtant more truley Proteſtant, if cured of this *peſtilentiall diſeaſe of perſecution*, for indeed *perſecution is no part of Religion*, but a meer ſpirit of *Treaſon* inſenſibly inſinuated, and diſtill'd into Religions by *Popes, Biſhops and Preiſts*; ſo that ignorantly the members of thoſe Religions are made *Traytours* to their *owne Rights and Liberties*, and ſo enſlaved to the *trayterous deſignes of the Clergie*, the very roote of Treaſon; for indeed the Teachers of *Perſecution* are the *Archeſt Ieſuiticall Traytours of all*, whether *Papiſt*, *Proteſtant* &c. ſuch as Mr. *Edwards*, who moſt impudently and trayterouſly ſaith in his *Antipologie*, *that the Parliament is bound in duty, to compell all men to the Decrees of the Aſſembly.*

Mr. Polit. Power. Mr. *State-policy*, *I commend your policy herein, for indeed* Mr. Edwards *in ſo ſaying, is a Traytour to politique power: But I pray you proceed.*

Mr. State-Policie. *Well then, as all are borne ſubjects to their Kings, ſo are Kings to ſee, that all may have their Birthright, Liberty, and Priviledge of Subjects, that all may be kept in the* generall Bond of peace, *of what ſort of ſect ſoever, for as* Lucius Lavinius *ſaid to King* Iames, all the different members being wrapt up in the skine of one conſtitution, need no ſtronger obligement, to uphold the whole then their owne intereſt: *Therefore, were the devouring principle of perſecution weeded out from betwixt all Religions, they might all enjoy their publike ſafety to the generall enlargement and ſtrengthning of politike power, for the ſtrength of the King lies in the multitude of people, ſo that it is moſt conſonant to State policy to include all, rather then deprive any of publike protection.*

M. *Nationall-Loyalty*. Mr. *Foreman*, this is *a matter of great weight*, that we have in hand, therefore *not ſleightly, but ſeriouſly to be weighed, and deliberately examined* both from our owne knowledge and experience, as from the juſt Evidence given in by the Witneſſes, (for I conceive, this priſoner is antiently knowne to us all) that wee may be better enabled to give in our *verdict*, wherefore having ſomething to ſay of antient experience, I ſhall firſt deſire Mr. *State-Policie*, ſince he hath given us an hint of wholeſome meanes that might be uſed, to prevent and ſuppreſſe this turbulent rebellious Spirit of *Perſecution*, that he would declare what further he hath in his thoughts thereon.

Mr. *State-Polic.* That which in it ſelfe is wicked, neither honourable to God, allowed by him, nor profitable to man, but dangerous and deſtructive to common ſafety and peace, falleth under the *Sword* of the Majeſtracy, and the Majeſtrate may lawfully uſe ſuch meanes as ſhall beſt ſecure the publike peace from the evill thereof: Now ſince the generality of the people are poſſeſſed with this *Evill Spirit*, infuſed, nouriſhed, and preſerved in their hearts by *Popes*, *Biſhops*, *Preiſts*, and (at preſent in the Land) by the *trayterous Synod*, called the *Aſſembly of Divines*, who labour with might and maine to eſtabliſh and ſetle this trayterous *ſpirit* in the Land; and further, ſince all by compulſion are to be forced to the Civill peace and publike unity, and all are to be defended and preſerved under the publike freedome, one as well as an other; therefore to this end the Majeſtrate ought to bind all Religions, that no Religion have power over other, that all in the Generall have Toleration, and none in particular be offenſive; for the *Papiſt* may be a *Papiſt*, the *Proteſtant* a *Proteſtant* without the power of Compulſion, the deprivation thereof is no wayes injurious to their Religion; as a man that hath a when, or a bunch that growes upon any member, may be a perfect man, and that a perfect member without it: Therefore to this end a Nationall Covenant would not be inconſiderable, to engage all in this publike freedome, that as all ſhould be ſharers in it, ſo all ſhould be defenders of it. That no *Proteſtant Miniſter* or others ſhould teach privately or publikely, either by *preaching*, *writing*, or *conference* any thing contradictory or diſtructive thereto. That no man upbraid, reproach, ſcoffe, deride, threaten, or doe any violence to any for his Religion, *and ſuch like*: And that this be continued from *Generation* to *Generation* under ſuch and ſuch penalties as the State ſhall thinke fit; ſo that in a ſmall time, if the Governours would hearken to the feare of the Lord, this oppreſſion of conſcience, which is now made *State-Policie* (condemned by the God of mercy and all mercifull men) would waxe out of date, and be caſt out as abominable to God, and deſtructive to mankind: Then their feares and jealouſies one of an other, which puts them in a continuall poſture of war both offenſive and defenſive would be at an end; their Controverſies would be of an other kind, faire and equall Diſputes, and it is better and farre cheaper to provide words for Argumentation, then inſtruments of war for blowes and bloodſhed, and would conduce I am ſure more to the common good and ſafety; the one doth encreaſe knowledge, the other nothing but rage and revenge: by reaſoning thoſe that are ignorant would ſhortly ſee, how they and their

Fore-fathers have been cheated of the *Tenth* of their encreaſe,fool'd,and nurſ'd up in blindneſſe by *Bishops,Prieſts,*&c.meerly to uphold their greatneſſe,ſtuffe and cram their ungodly guts, that it is become a Proverbe, *as fat as a Bishop,* and how ſoone, if PERSECUTION be acquited, it may be verified on the the *Presbyters,* I leave that to the iſſue, only I wiſh the people to try things themſelves, and not truſt too much to their *Lippes,* for their *Lippes* are *Cozen Germaine* to their *Teeth*, and this is moſt certain, they all *ſpeake through the Teeth.*

Mr. *Nation. Loyal.* Mr. *Foreman,* according to the *Evidence* we have received, and reſult of our conſultation hitherto, he is guilty *ipſo facto* of what is laid to his charge; and for mine owne part, I know that *Toleration* is not againſt *Nationall Loyalty,*but my well ſtand with *Nationall peace,* as by divers antient and moderne Examples I can make it appeare. *Abraham* lived among the *Cannanites* and *Perizzites, Gen.*13.7. & 16.3. againe he ſojourned in *Egypt, Gen.*12.10. after in *Gerar*, where King *Abimelech* bid him dwell where it pleaſed him, *cap.*20.&c. 21.23.24. afterwards among the *Hittites,cap.*23.*Lot* lived in *Sodom, Iſaack* alſo dwelt in *Gerar*, yet contrary to the King and his Subjects, *cap.*20. *Iacob* lived 20. yeares with his Uncle *Laban* in one houſe,yet different in Religion,*Gen.*31.30.33. the Children of *Iſraell* lived 430.yeares in *Egypt,Exod.*12. 40. afterwards were caried away to *Babylon*, where they remained 70. yeares, all which times they differed in Religion, yet no danger to the State: *Sampſon* lived among the *Philiſtines*, *Lot* in the Land of *Vz*, yet their Religion though different was not diſturbant to the State: And in the time of Chriſt, when *Iſraell* was captive to the *Romans,*lived divers *Sects* of Religions, *Herodians, Scribes,* and *Phariſes, Sadduces* and *Libertines* ſuch as denyed the Reſurrection, and *Samaritanes* the common Religion of the *Iewes,* the *Chriſtian* and *Apoſtolick* Religion,all which differed from the common Religion of the State; which in all probability was the *worship of Diana,whome all the world almoſt then worshipped,Act.*19.20. yet all theſe lived under the Government of *Cæſar*, not any wayes injurious to his Crowne and Dignity, or diſturbant to the peace of his Government: but when *Perſecution* aroſe,then the State was troubled by *tumults,uproares,*&c.And how doth *Toleration* injure the State of *Holland, Poland*, *Traſilvania*, &c. their *Weales,States,*and *Citties* are well and peaceably governed,divers Religions are in their Provinces,yet all have one harmony in matters of State,all united and engaged in the generall ſafety, peace, and tranquillity of their ſeverall Kingdoms, States, and Provinces, wherein they ſo freely enjoy their ſeverall ſafeties,protection and freedomes.

Mr.*Liberty-of-Subject.* Mr. *Foreman*, beſides what I have received from the Witneſſes, of my own experience I know, that if PERSECUTION be not executed, the *Liberty of the Subject* (now in controverſie) cannot be ſetled in this Land; for the *Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Independants,* &c. true and faithfull

Subjects to the State, that ſtood to the *publike cauſe*, when the *Prieſts* & ſuch like *ſcurrelous vermine*, durſt ſcarce be ſeen in it, but *Ieſuitically* caried themſelves in an equall ballance betwixt both, that though the King had conquered, yet moſt of them would have kept their *Benefices*, a *wiſe generation!* I ſay, theſe more *nobleſpirited men*, that freely ſpend their lives, fortunes, and eſtates for the *Liberty of the Subject*, and that from the moſt noble and rationall principle, *the Common Good* and not for *ſelfe reſpect*, neither thoſe of them which ſurvive, nor the ſucceders in their faith ſhall enjoy this *Liberty*, their juſt *Birth-right*, but be wholy deprived thereof, and the purchaſe of their *Blood* be ceaſ'd and devoured by thoſe *Presbyterian Horſe-lecches*, and confined to ſuch *blood-thirſty Cattle*, which is directly oppoſite to the *juſt Liberty of the Subject*.

Mr. *Compaſ. Sam*. Mr. Foreman, *I have beheld the innocency of their intentions, and honeſty of their lives*, (to wit of Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, &c.) *their affections to the Common-wealth, their forwardnes of aſſiſtance in purſe and perſon, knowing their Meetings to be ſo innocent, ſo far from confederacy or counterplots* (pag. 3.) *and yet their perſons ſo hated, contemned, and belyed, ſuch wounds made upon their conſciences, that my heart aboundeth with greiſe, that their miſerie should be thus paſſed by, their wounds ſo wide and deepe, and no oyle of mercy powred in: ſo that me thinkes, everie man is bound in conſcience, to ſpeake and doe what he can in the behalfe of ſuch an harmeles people as theſe*. (pap. 4.) Therefore, Mr. *Foreman*, being privy to the truth of the Evidence againſt PERSECUTION, the ſole cauſer of their wounds and miſerie, I conclude him, *an enemie againſt God and all goodneſſe, &c.* and that he is guilty of the *Inditement*.

Mr. *Truth-&-Peace*, Mr. *Foreman*, much I could ſay againſt the Priſoner, to witneſſe the verity of the *Inditement*, but for brevity ſake I ſhall referre you to the diſcovery I have made of his *Impiety, Treaſon, Blood-shed*, &c. in that Booke intituled, *The Bloody Tenent*, and I commend unto you, and to the neceſſary peruſall of the COMMONNS and *nobles* of *England*, that moſt famous peece, called, *The Compaſſionate Samaritane*, as a moſt exact modell of rationality.

Mr. *Light-of-Nature*. Mr. *Foreman*, whereas Sir *Symon* in the defence of PERSECUTION ſaith, that LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE *opens a gate to all manner of prophaneſſe, looſeneſſe*, &c. the *Light of Nature* might teach him, that Toleration is no Approbation, or the ſuffering of Religions a warrant to be of no Religion, much leſſe to publike prophaneſſe; for this comes within the compaſſe of that which Nature teaches the moſt ignorant, therefore within the reach of publike reſtraint, according to the Lawes of common modeſty and civility, which Nature hath written in the hearts of all men naturally: Such publike Tranſgreſſions that are uncivill, unnaturall, and unbecomeing humaine ſociety, as *open prophaneſſe* and *looſeneſſe* fall under the reſtraint, and correction of the Mageſtrate, whoſe power is over the things of Nature, thoſe being offences of that kind : As the Majeſtrate is to maintaine the publicke peace, and all civill ſocieties therein, ſo is it preſerve publike modeſty, comlines, and civillity, that there may be a generall comely demeanour as rationall creatures, ſo their carriage and publicke demeanours are to be rationall regular, and comely, and not openly licentious, prophane, and blaſphemous, contrary to common ſenſe, reaſon, and humanity.

Mr. *Creation.* Gentlemen, we have ſpent much time, and our *Verdict* is expected, and the caſe is ſo evident and plaine, that I thinke what is done may ſuffice, if you Mr. *Orphan,* and Mr. *Day of Iudgement* be agreed with us in your *Verdict,* let us give it in: what ſay you?

Ambo. We are agreed; *guilty, guilty.*

Crier. *A* Verdict: *Make way there for the Iurie.*

Iudge. PERSECUTION, hold up thy hand : Maſters of the Iurie, looke upon the Priſoner, is he guilty of this *Treaſon, Rebellion, Bloodshed,* &c. in manner and forme as he ſtands *indicted,* or not guilty.

Foreman. GUILTY *my Lord.*

Iudge. PERSECUTION, thou haſt heard the hainous Accuſation, that hath been proved againſt thee, and the *verdict* the *Iurie* have given in upon thee, what canſt thou ſay for thy ſelfe, to *award* the ſencence of death from paſſing againſt thee?

Perſ. My Lord, the Iurie have not dealt honeſtly in their *verdict,* wherefore I appeale from them to the *Aſſembly of Divines,* for a tryall of their honeſty in this *verdict.*

Iudge. PERSECUTION, indeed thou ſtand'eſt need of a *Long Cloak to cover thy knaverie;* but there is no *appeale* from this Court, they are no *Sanctuary of refuge* in this caſe, neither can I conceive ſuch worthy Gentlemen ſhould perjure themſelves, yet if thou haſt any thing elſe to ſay, to award the *Sentence of death,* ſpeake for thy ſelfe.

Perſ. I thanke your Honour, the Lord bleſſe your Honour : My Lord, I am ſo terrified in my ſelfe at the apprehenſion of death that I am not in caſe to ſpeake for my ſelfe : I beſeech your Lordſhip, that Sir *Symon* may ſpeake in my behalfe.

Sir Sym. *My Lord, The enemies of our peace in this matter have dealt very ſubtilly, and moſt trayterouſly againſt the* reverend Aſſembly of the faithfull, *the* Clergie, *to divide them from your Lordships protection, to deſtroy and hinder the worke of Reformation, &c. for* my Lord, *this man here indicted by the name of* PERSECUTION, *is none of the man; for here is Mr.* Nationall Conformity, *Mr.*Pontificall Revenue, *Mr.* Eccleſiaſticall Supremacy, *Perſonages of Honour, and eminencie through out whole Chriſtendome, to teſtifie with me, that this Priſoner hath ever endeavoured to purge the Church of God from Hereſie, Sciſme, and all manner of irregular exorbitant courſes, and laboured for the peace of the Church,* *that we may lead*, a lazie and an eaſie life without God, and the people in the feare of the Clergie. *Indeed my Lord, he was once of the* Church of Rome, *and thereupon generally branded by the name of* PERSECUTION; *but my Lord, for this hundred yeares and upward he hath been of the* true Proteſtant Religion, *even from the time of* Luthar, *and at this preſent* en-*devoureth with us the good of the* Church *in its reſtitution to* Prelaticall Presbytrie: *And upon his* ſeperation *from* Rome *with* Luthar, *he utterly renounced the* nicke-name *of* PERSECUTION, *and though unhappily through* Ieſuiticall ſuggeſtions & deluſions *he was too frequent in the* Spaniſh inquiſition, *and of late by* Epiſcopall ſophiſtications *intiſed to officiate* in the High Commiſſion; *yet my Lord, he was ever in himſelfe an* honeſt Reformer, *and indeed his true name is* Preſent Reformation, *he was borne not long after the* Primative times, *but* his nature *and* inclinations by evill Inſtruments have been ſo much abuſ'd, that he had even loſt his name, *and being* nicke-named *when he was yongue, and through long continuance of* time, *forgot his name, that indeed he anſwerd a long time to the name of* PERSECUTION, *but* his true *and* proper name *is* Perſent Reformation, *which by Interpretation, is*, Presbyterian Government: *Wherefore my Lord, I beſeech you* conſider the ſubtilty of this malignant hereticall faction, who have procured the apprehenſion and indictment of this *Preſent Reformation* under the odious name of PERSECUTION, thereby at once to make your Honor both ruine your ſelfe, and the Presbytrie of the Kingdom: therefore my Lord, whether the Iurie have dealt honeſtly in their Verdict, your Honour by this may eſily diſcerne.

Iudge. PERSECUTION, what ſayeſt thou to this? Is thy name *Preſent Reformation*?

Perſ. Yes *my Lord*, and my name is according to my naturall diſpoſition.

Iudge. Wh gave you that name?

I. Reaſ. My Lord, his God-fathers and God-mothers in his Baptiſme, wherein he was made a member of the Aſſembly, and an Inheritor of the Kingdome of *Antichriſt*.

Iudge. His God-fathers, and God-mothers? who are your God-fathers, and your God-mothers?

Perſ. My Lord, Mr. *Eccleſiaſticall-Supremacy*, and Mr. *Scotch-Government* are my God-fathers, Mr. *State-Ambition*, and Mr. *Church-Revenue* are my God-mothers, and I was ſprinkled into the *Aſſembly of Divines* at the takeing of the late *ſolemne League and Covenant*.

I. Reaſ. My Lord, he is at this time *Primate* and *Metrapolitane* over all the *Eccleſiaſt. Courts* of Tyranny in the world, the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, the *High Commiſſion*, and now our Divines have *ſprinkled* his *federall Holyneſſe* into their Aſſembly, and hereupon chang'd his name from PERSECUTION, and *Anabaptiſ'd* him *Preſent Reformation.*

Iudg. 'Tis ſtrange, that at the makeing of the late ſolemne League and Covenant bloodthirſty PERSECUTION ſhould be Anabaptized Preſent Reformation; then here's a Deſigne of blood in the Covenant, if under the name of Reformation the Clergie have infuſed the trayterous bloodthirſty ſpirit of Perſecution into it.

I. Human. *My Lord, there was never any* Nationall *or Provinciall Synod, but ſtrengthned the hands of* PERSECUTION, *and that under the vizor of Religion.*

I. Reaſ. And my Lord, Sir *Symon*, and Sir *Iohn's* agitation for PERSECUTION, is on purpoſe, to ſave this *villaine*, to cut their throats, that hazard, and ſpend their lives and fortunes for Us, and for the State of the Kingdome, ſuch as have *been faithfull in the publike Service, never tainted with Treaſon, or doubledealing*, though the *Kings negotiation* with large promiſes have attempted it, even ſuch cheifly, as they brand with the names of *Anabaptiſts, Brownists*, &c. thoſe notwithſtanding, they would have depriv'd of the *liberty of the ſubject*, yea of *the liberty of their lives*; and the ſole cauſe hereof is, *becauſe they labour to informe your L. with rationall principles, and are zealous inquirers into the Goſpel, from thence diſcovering the iniquity of the pontificall Clergie, and* (*labouring for the* common good) *communicate their underſtandings to the benefit of others*, which prooving prejuditiall to the *wicked ends of the Clergy*, they labour with opprobrious names, lyes and ſlanders to make ſuch odious, the better accompliſh their ends, and in this *Deſigne* they *have plaid their parts*, for ſhould PERSECUTION be *put to death*, the *whole Clergy* feare to be *undone*, as their *exceptions* againſt LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE did manifeſt; they are afraid of the *mercy of the people*, they cannot endure *to ſerve only for Conſcience*, their *tongues are even with their bellyes, pinch their guts, and ſpoyle the Preiſts, ſhut your hand, and there's a generall ſilence*, you may be *Anabaptiſt, Brownist*, or what you will, if the matter be brought to that paſſe: This is that they feare my Lord, Therefore, would they have their hands ſtrengthned with *PERSECVTION*, to prevent it let who will periſh, if they ſtand. Moreover, my Lord, thoſe very men which plead for PERSECUTION, are the ſame, even this man, Sir *Iohn*, is the very man, that in the dayes of the Biſhops complained, and conteſted againſt PERSECUTION, uſed all poſſible meanes to be delivered out of his *Epiſcopall Pawes*, endevoured to caſt him out of the *High Commiſſion*; but as ſoone as theſe *underling Divines* are from under their *Epiſcopall Task-maſters*, and beginning to encroach upon your Lordſhips power, preſently take this notorious bloody Traitour, PERSECUTION, ſtript by your Lordſhip of his *High Commiſſion* habit, and out of their zeale dreſſe him in a divine *Synodicall garbe*, and chang his name from PERSECUTION, and *criſten* him *Reformation*; ſo to engage your Lordſhip, and the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* in blood, to ſettle and eſtabliſh bloody *Perſecution* by *Covenant* over the *Conſciences* of honeſt and faithfull men unto the State, under the ſpeacious and godly pretence of *Reformation*, as Mr. *Edwards* one of their Champions manifeſts, who is ſo impudent, as to aſſert, *that your Lordship is bound to compell all men to the Decrees of the Synod,* (aſcribing to them, as the Papiſts to the Pope) *an infallible unerring ſpirit*, and openly proclaimes, that Toleration of ſuch honeſt faithfull Subjects, as *Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Independants, Antinomians*, &c. *to be indirect oppoſition to the Covenant, and though before they might have beene lawfully tolerated, yet now they cannot under breach of the Covenant:* Conſider *My Lord*, is not this Jeſuiticall ſubtilty, moſt deſperate and ſecret deluſion, that by this Covenant they would engage your Lordſhip, either to be a Covenant breaker, or elſe infringe the Liberty of the Subject entruſted by the *Common people* in your hands, one of theſe is inavoydable, and yet all under the coulour of *Reformation, the true Proteſtant Religion, the cauſe of God*, and I know not what; what *in nomine Domini perpetrant omne malum*; ſo that it is moſt certaine, that this fellow, whoſe name Sir *Symon* feigneth to be *Reformation*, is abſolute *P* E *R S* E *C V T I O* N, ſo that had theſe Reformers but as much power as *Queen Maryes* Clergie, their Reformation would conclude in fire and faggot.

Iudge. Oh inſufferable Aſſembly! I ſee 't is dangerous for a State to pin their faith upon the ſleive of the Clergie.

I. Reaſ. Further *my Lord*, whereas others are impoveriſhed, ſpend their eſtates, engage and looſe their lives in this Quarrell, they are enriched, and advanced by it, ſave their purſes and perſons, cram and fill their greedy guts too filthy to be caried to a *Beare*, heape up wealth to themſelves, and give not a penny, while others (againſt whom they exclaime) venture and expend all, yea my Lord, this great gorbelly'd Idoll, called the *Aſſembly of Divines*, is not aſhamed in this time of State neceſſity, to guzle up and devoure dayly more at an ordinary meale, then would make a Feaſt for *Bell and the Dragon*, for beſides all their *fat Benefices*, forſooth they muſt have their foure ſhillings a peece by the day, for ſitting in conſtollidation; and poore men when they had fil'd all *Benefices* with good Trencher-men of their owne Presbyterean Tribe, they move your Lordſhip, that all Miniſters may be wholy freed from all manner of Taxations, that now the Trade of a Presbyter is the beſt Trade in *England*, all are taxed, and it goes free; poore men that have not bread to ſtill the cry of their children, muſt either pay or goe in perſon to the wars, while thoſe devouring Church-lubbers live at eaſe, feed on dainties, neither pay nor goe themſelves but preach out our very hearts, they make it a caſe of conſcience to give all, but wiſe men the'l give none: let the ſicke, the lame and maimed Souldiers, and thoſe that that have loſt their limbs, and beg in the ſtreets, let women that have loſt their husbands, let parents that have loſt their children, let children that have loſt their parents, and let all that have or ſuffer oppreſſion and miſery, in and for the publike cauſe, conſider this, and be no longer riden and jayded by Clergy Maſters; but to give the Divell his due, one thing to their commendations I have obſerved, that they are ſo zealouſly affected with the honour of their cloth, that 't were pitty to diſroabe them of their Caſſoke garbe to be led in a ſtring from Weſtminſter to Allgate in Leatherne Jackets, and Mattokes on their ſhoulders; and my Lord, though ſome thinke they would do the State more good in Leatheren Jackets and Mattokes then in long Cloakes and Caſſokes, yet me thinks, they would doe the State better ſervice with their Canonicall Girdles, were the knot ty'd in the right place.

Iudge. Sir *Symon*, we convocated the Aſſembly to conſult with about matters of Religion, not arrogating to our ſelves, or aſcribing to them a Spirit of infallability, conſidering that we are but Parliament men, not Gods, therefore we made tryall of their advice, but for them hereupon to arogate Supremacy over the State and people, lay claime to an unerring ſpirit, and perſwade us, (*as Edwards in his Antipol. ſaith*) that we take it for granted, that the concluſions of their Debates, Controverſies, and Conſulations are according to the mind of Chriſt, becauſe We cal'd them together, and hereupon to compell all men to their Decrees, is moſt impudent preſumption, and popiſh arrogance; We did not ſuppreſſe the *High Commiſſion*, to ſubject Our Selves to an *Aſſembly*, race out *Epiſcopall* to ſet up *Presbyterian Prelacy*, for what more *Prelaticall*, what more *exorbitant* then ſuch preſumption, tis a meere *Monopole of the Spirit* Sir *Symon*: you have ſo plaid the *Ieſuites*, as it ſeemes, We have only put downe the *men*, not the *Function*; caught the ſhaddow, and let goe the ſubſtance: while We were ſuppreſſing *Primates*, *Metrapalitanes*, *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Eccleſiaſticall Courts, Canons, Injunctions, Decrees,* &c. you have ſo ſubtilly carried the buſineſſe, as it ſeemes, *Primacy, Metrapolitaniſme, Prelacy,* &c. ſhrunke into the *Presbytry*, and our *High Commiſſion* turn'd into an *Aſſembly of Divines*; We out of Our good intentions *caſt out this Evill Spirit* thence, and it entred it ſeemes, into theſe *Swine*, who thus headlong run upon their own deſtruction, (*the Divell hath brought his hogges to a faire Market*) arrogating an *infallability*, and a *ſupremacy* over Us, and the people, condemning PERSECUTION, when they were perſecuted, but commending & approving it, if they may perſecute: Truly Sir *Symon*, you have out run the Conſtable, your ambition is a little too ſwift for your policie: What breath out threatnings, menaces, and perſecutions openly, before you have power to perſecute! ſure you were not in your wits; when they were vented.

I. Human. My Lord, they have *ſet* even till they'r run mad, you might do well to adjorne them to *Bedlam*; for my Lord, they are raging mad; to have the innocent blood of the Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Independants, &c.

I. Reaſ. My Lord, they have over ſtuddied themſelves, and crack'd their wits in finding out a Religion for us; poore men they have been mightily puzled about it, it hath coſt them the conſumption of many fat *Pigge*, *Chicken*, *capon*, &c. the *infuſion* of many *a cup of ſacke*, to bring it to birth, and after ſuch *dolerous pangs*, and *bitter throwes* for almoſt theſe two yeares, who would have thought, they ſhould be delivered of ſuch a *ridiculous vermine*, called, a *Presbyter*; *parturiunt montes, naſcitur ridiculus mus*: And now my Lord, after this *mountanous delivery*, they are at their wits end, what dreſſing to put it out in, all the Taylours in the Kingdome are not able to content them, what to doe they know not, and now the matters worſe then ever it was, they had thought to have ſhewne the world it in the godly ſhape of *Reformation*, but upon examination, 't is found to be *PERSECVTION*, a ſad event! there is no way now, but *Bedlam* for our Doctours, it may chance to chaſtize them into their wits againe, and then upon their ſecond thoughts, it may be, they'l bethinke themſelves, to put a *Blew Bonnet* upon 't, and then 't will paſſe from *England to Scotland*, and from *Scotland* to *England* againe without Queſtion or controule.

Iudge. Sir *Symon*, We bleſſe God, that hath put it into the hearts of thoſe honeſt godly people, (though publikely deſpiſed and hated) thoſe faithfull freinds and lovers of the *Parliament* and *Kingdome*, whome you *nicke-name Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Independants*, &c. to diſcover and detect unto us the *Ieſuiticall* and *Trayterous Deſignes* of the *Synod* with the hazard of their Libertis, and for ought they know of their lives and fortunes; for ſhould they not ventured themſelves in the diſcovery of ſuch a ſubtile generation, Wo ſhould have been kept ignorant through their zealous pretences, and had there been a mountaine more of their villany, it ſeemes they would have covered it with a *vaile of teares, Faſtings, affected prayers*, and the like, from Our diſcerning.

I. Reaſ. *It is an approved truth, that ſuch as are called* Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, &c. *have in all Ages ventured, yea given up their lives, to enforme Kings, Kingdomes, Parliaments*, and *States* in things that concerne their peace, and the glory of God, *which though condemned at firſt, afterwards have proved no other; yea ſuch as your Lordships Predeceſſours have condemned by penall Lawes, Statutes, &c. which now your Lordship through the mercy of God find otherwiſe, and it is we that reape the benefit of their blood in the ſuppreſſion of* Epiſcopall *Iurisdiction, High Commiſſion, &c. not they; for their ſufferings, and their teſtimony have detected and informed us of their unlawneſſe, it being their cuſtome my Lord, to weare out the* Myſterie of Iniquity *with their blood: And now my Lord, we that have received vantage by their bitter ſufferings, shall we baoſt our ſelves againſt them? it were ungratude to God, and inhumanity to them.*

Iudge. True: We find by dayly experience, that the *Seperates* are not ſuch as ground their religion on ſelfe ends, for like *Salamanders in the fire*, they live in the heate of *Perſecution*, they ſpare not their lives, to witneſſe the innocencie of their Cauſe, the fire of *Perſecution* cannot conſume, but enflames them towards their God and the Truth; the menacing of Kings and Governours, and cruelties of their greateſt Adverſaries hinders not their teſtimony; this we find, when ever they are convented before Us, even to our aſtoniſhment; and we further find, it is not their owne good alone that they aime at, but the generall good of all men, that all (one as well as an other) may lead an honeſt and a quiet life under Our Protection, and We have (to our benefit) found the bleſſing of God upon their endeavours, as the hopefull and glorious ſucceſſe in the Conqueſt of *Yorke*, which envie and malice it ſelfe cannot deny, was inſtrumentally archeived by their valour and fidelity: Wherefore in juſtice to their uprightneſſe, and faithfulnes to that truſt repoſed in Us for the publike Good; the Liberty and property of the Subject, We may not deny them the benefit of Subjects, but as they are faithfull parties in the generall venture, ſo to be heriditatory to the generall purchaſe, having as juſt a Right thereto by the price of their blood as Our Selves, for that which is purchaſed by blood, all the purchaſers have an equall right to the thing purchaſed.

I. Reaſ. My Lord, but our *Deſſembly Doctours* teach otherwiſe, yet I think if your Lordship ſhould ſettle *Anabaptiſtrie* or the like, even that which they now perſecute and threaten, preach and pray againſt, and forewarne the people off, as hereticall and damnable, provided you ſhould endouw it with *goodly ſat Benefices*, and *ſanctifie* it with the *hallowed Ordinance for Tythes*, *Offerings*, *Oblations*, &c. queſtionleſſe the generallity of thoſe Perſecutours of *Anabaptiſts* would have the wit to turne *Anabaptiſts*, for their Religion is moved upon the Wheele of the State; when the State was for *Bishops*, then they were for *Bishops*, and were very *Canonicall Surpliſſe men*, *Altar bowers*, and the like, (and the preciſeſt ſort thoſe that are now our moſt zealous *Presbyters*) did then ſo comply and conforme to *Epiſcopall ſuperſtition*, as they kept their *Benefices*, (except here and there one of the honeſter ſort,) while the *honeſt Separate* (counting nothing too deare for his God) did openly reſiſt and witneſſe againſt it, even to impriſonments, deprivation of goods, &c. But our temporizing Doctours, our *State Proteſtant Miniſters* are not ſo ſimple to ſwime againſt the ſtreame, they are *wiſer in their generation*, for they know moſt wealth goes that way, as long as your *Ordinance* is *laden* with *Tythes*, *Offerings* and *Oblations*, they'l be ſure to *give fire*; but ſhould the State deprive their Religion of all *Eccleſiaſticall Revenue*, of *Perſonages*, *Tythes*, &c. yea, ſhould it be their very *Presbyterie* they ſo aime at, that they ſhould ſo impoveriſh, certainly we ſhould have *more Parishes* then *Presbyters*, more *Steeples* then *Doctours*; then they would no be ſo hot for *Presbytry*, ſo zealous to perſecute its oppoſers, I would your Lordſhip would make tryall, call in but your *Ordinance for Tythes*, and turne them to *the good will of people*, and then —— *a tyth Pigge will be ſold for a penny.*

Iudge. Well notwithſtanding the Doctrine and ſubtilty our Divines we cannot deale ſo unworthely with thoſe honeſt men, but muſt by the *grace of God*, being by them better informed, proceed to *Sentence* againſt this *Malefactour* according to the juſt *Verdict* of the *Iurie.*

PERSECUTION *fals upon his knees.*

Perſ. Good my Lord, have mercy upon me, I beſeech your Honour even for the *Clergies ſake*, have mercy upon me; conſider my Lord, that in my death is their ruine, it will be the greateſt inroad upon the Divines of Chriſtendome, that ever was made. Oh!

I beſeech you my Lord, *by the Myſterie of their holy Convocation, by their agony, and bloody ſweate, by their Croſſe and Paſſion at my shamefull approaching death and buriall,* Good Lord deliver me.

By their glorious Reſurrection, and Aſcention from the Pulpit above the State: By the coming of the Holy Ghoſt to them in Cloake Bagge from Scotland, Good Lord deliver me.

By the late ſolemne League and Covenant: By the 400. *and* 50. *l. for the Copy of their Directory: By all the fat Benefices, and goodly Revenues of the Clergie*, Good Lord deliver me.

By the Apocripha writings and non-ſenſe Arguments of Mr. Edwards: *By the diſtracted thoughts and ſubitaine apprehenſions of* Mr. Prinne: *By the Deſignes of the Clergie: By their fained teares: By their hypocriſie: By their falſe Gloſſes, Interpretations, and Sophiſtications,* Good Lord deliver me.

By the Advance of the mickle Armie *into the South: By the late innocent and undefiled Ordinance for Tythes: By all that is neare and deare unto the Clergie, the pompe and glorie of this world,* Good Lord deliver me.

Iudge. PERSECUTION, what would'ſt thou have? here's no place of mercy for thee, the Vengance of God cannot be diſpenſ'd with, thou art not in the *High Commiſſion*, nor before the *Aſſembly*, this is a Court where juſtice muſt take place.

Perſ. Oh my Lord, I beſeech your Lordſhip for the mercy of this honourable Bench: My Lord, I am a Clergie man, and beſeech your Honour for the benefit of my Clergie: I have been of all the Univerſities of Chriſtendom, have taken all their Degrees, proceeded through all Eccleſiaſticall Orders and Functions, and my Lord, at preſent am under the Holy Order of Presbytrie, and I hope a Presbyter ſhall find favour in your eyes: Wherefore I beſeech you my Lord, that I may have the benefit of Degration.

Iudge. PERSECUTION, be contented, you ſhall be ſent to the place of Degradation.

Perſ. Oh Good my Lord, let not a Presbyter come to ſo ſhamefull an end, I beſeech this Honourable Bench, that I may be repreeved but as long as the Synod and Presbytrie endure.

Iudge. No PERSECUTION, ſuch is thy Treaſon, Rebillion, &c. as cannot be diſpenſed with.

Perſ. Oh my Lord, a pſalme of mercy, I beſeech your Honour, a pſalme of mercy.

Iudge. No PERSECUTION, no; prepare to heare thy Sentence.
Hereupon this enſuinge Letter was privately conveyed to Iuſtice Conformity.

To the right worſhipfull *Iuſtice Conformity*, all bleſſing and benediction from his *Holyneſſe* Sir *SYMON*, and his Son Sir *IOHN*.

Right worſhipfull,

Theſe are to adjure you, as you will Anſwer it before US, *at the great and dreadfull* DAY *of* OUR *Claſſicall exaltation above all perſons in the Kingdome, that you forthwith ſollicite my Lord, to ſuſpend his* Sentence *but till the* advance of the mickle Armie into the South, *for then we feare not the procurement of his plenary pardon; and for your encouragement herein laſt night my Son* Iacke *and I went into our* Presbyterian ware-houſe, *and have taken a liſt of all the Inſtruments of torture and torment already prepared for our Deſigne: to wit*, triple knotty corded whips, Gagges, Pillories, Stockes, Sharpe Knifes, Pincers, hot burning Irons, Halters, Gallowes, Gybbets, Rackes, Spits, Fire-forkes, Gridirons, Axes, Sawes Fleſhhookes, firery Furnaces, hot Ovens, boyling Caldrons, Fire and Faggot, cloſe Priſons, darke and noyſome Dungeons, Fetters, Manacles, *all in abundance*, moſt bloody and cruell Executioners, terrible and diviliſh Tormentours *as*, Presbyterian Hangmen, Goalers, &c. *beſides multitudes of* Synodean Tyranies *newly invented, not yet diſcovered to the people, ſuch as never either by* Pope, Biſhop, *or their adherents were deviſed: and though we have prepared thoſe Divelish Inſtruments, yet we ſhall not be ſo indiſcreet, to rush them in all on a ſuddaine; no we ſhall obſerve the temper of the people, the courſe of times, make a graduall progreſſion, now a little, and then a little, and alwayes a moſt godly and holy pretence to usher in a damnable and wicked deſigne; if in the poiſing a buſineſſe wee find it ſo heavy, that neither* Synod, Divill, *nor* Presbyter *can lift, we'll ſuſpend the matter, and inſenſibly prepare the people for the entertainment thereof, which by our vaine-glorious faſting, hypocriticall teares, prayers, and ſophiſticall Sermons we ſhall eaſily doe: And for your further encouragement underſtand; there are of certaine, from a late* Conſiſtorie *of* Divels *diſpatched* ſeaven foule Spirits a peece *for every* Presbyter *throughout* England, *to attend them in their* Parochiall Iurisdiction: *ſo that a* Presbyter *ſhall be* ſeaven times *worſe then a* Biſhop, *for it is intended, he ſhall be* more fearce and cruell then his fellowes, *therefore* Woe, Woe *unto thoſe* Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, &c. *thoſe curſed Heretickes, for thoſe* presbyterian Feinds *expect but the* word of command, *to devoure them up: But* Mr. William, *all this will come to nothing, if this Priſoner be put to death, you ſee thoſe Sectaries have had ſuch freedome of ſpeech that my Son* Iacke *and* I *can doe no good; now, there being not ſuch a conſiderable perſon in this County as your ſelf to prevaile,* WEE *therefore charge you, as you hope to be a* Iudge, *faile not at this dead lift* for your Eares; *indeed he's in your debt, but he vowes by your* fiat juſtitia, *that if you prevaile, he'll provide you a* paire *of* better *and* longer, *then ever you had:*

Hereof ſaile not, and we ſhall not be backward to anſwer your deſerts, when, WE and the parliament, *ſhall be Commenced by*

Your intire Freinds, Sir SYMON SYNOD, and Sir IOHN PRESBYTER.

I. Conformity. My Lord, were your Lordſhip but rightly informed concerning this Priſoner under the name of Mr. PERSECUTION, what he is, and from whence he came, your Honour would leſſe wonder at his ſeverall evations and dilatory pleaes, to award the Sentence of death, for were he guilty, what would not a man doe for his life? *skin for skin, and all that a man hath will he give for his life*, but ſuch is his innocency, that the proceedings againſt him have been altogether upon falſe grounds; for wheras by the *Evidence* he is aſſerted to be born ſoon after the *time of Innocency*, and by them ſtandeth charged with all the Innocent blood ſpilt upon the whole earth: I ſhall by your Lordſhips favour upon good grounds make it apeare, to be otherwiſe, for my Lord, this priſoner is not yet above an 100 yeares of age, being borne in *Geneva*, of very good *Lutheran* and *Calvenish* parentage, about the yeare 1544. where he was very well educated and inſtructed both in the Tongues and Liberall Sciences; and upon a certaine time going to Sea, he was by a great wind raiſed by *Belzebub* the Prince of Divels blowne into *Scotland:* And being ſo neare us, forth of his zeale and pious affection to reforme the Church of the *Epiſcopall Prelacy* to *Presbyterian*, he occaſioned the *riſing of the Scots* as *one man* to oppoſe that power, againſt which ever ſince he hath conteſted, and he lately advanced with their *mickle Armie* to the Leagure before *Yorke*, and for all this, he received many an affront by *Cromwels* ſciſmaticall *Brigade*, and from thence taking his journey through *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Coventry*, and *Cambridge*, where performing much good ſervice he came to *London*, ſince whoſe coming, old Grand Mr. PERSECUTION, charged in the Indictment and convicted by the Iurie, was happily and timely executed uppon *Tower Hill*, by all which it appeareth, that the Witneſſes that have given in Teſtimony againſt this priſoner, the Gentleman at the Bar, have greatly abuſed him, your Lordſhip, and the Iurie, he not being the perſon charged, and conſequently innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, he being indeed as reall an adverſary to Old Mr. *PERSECVTION*, as any Gentleman of this whole County; hereof if your Lordſhip make any doubt, I beſeech you; that a *Farrier may* be called into the Court, who may make a perfect diſcovery to your Lordſhip of his age, by opening his mouth and vewing his Teeth, whoſe *yongue*, *ſmall*, *Presbyterean Pegges* have no proportion betwixt the *Great Twangs*, and *Boarish Tuskes* of Old Mr. *PERSECVTION:* And beſides this my Lord, to teſtifie what I have ſaid, to be authenticke, there are hundreds in the *mickle Armie*, whoſe abſence have occaſioned this his inability to juſtifie and cleare himſelfe; but if your Lordſhip pleaſe but to adjourne the buſines but till their *mickle Advance* into the South, the matter ſhall be made cleare unto your Honour, for then we make no queſtion to awe and cruſh thoſe Hereticall falſe witneſſes, and advance Presbytry to its ſuper Prelaticall Throne of *CLASSICALL SVPREMACY*, and though at firſt it be but *jure Humane*, a little fire and faggot will quickly Commence it *jure divino*.

I. *Reaſ.* My Lord, I am much afraid of a Conſpiracy betwixt Sir *Symon*, and Sir *Iohn Presbyter* with Iuſtice *Conformity*, whome like an Ignoramus they have perſwaded into their Combination, how to delude your Lordſhip, thereby to deliver *PERSECVTION* from the juſtice of this Court; You may eaſily perceave, how they would pinch your Lordſhips Noſe with a paire of *Scotch-Spectacles*, and fixe a paire of *long Synodian Eares* unto your Lordſhips head, that your Lordſhip might ſee nothing but *Blew Caps*, heare nothing but *Synodian Thunder*; but I hope your Honour is throughly ſenſible hereof; yet leaſt your Lordſhips Innocency, and honeſt endeavoures for the generall and equall Rights and Liberties of the Common People, ſhould be circumvented and perverted by their policie, I ſhall (hoping my plaine dealing meerly (I call God to witneſſe) out of unfeigned love unto your Honour, and the common Good of all the Common People ſhall not be recompenſed with your High Diſpleaſure) preſent the cunning inſinuations and ſubtile fictions of Iuſtas *Conformity* in their true ſhape; for whereas he ſaith, that this preſent Priſoner is not the perſon indicted, and convicted of Treaſon, Rebellion &c. this being but a yongue man, the other very old, I can aſſure your Lordſhip, that he is herein meerly deluſive, for the man is the very ſame, only through the adviſe of Sir IOHN he hath made uſe of a Presbyterian Barber, who hath ſhaven from his head, his old deformed Treſſes, cropt of his haire above the eares after the halfe moon faſhion, taught him the Presbyterian poſture of his eyes, plaiſtered up the wrinkles of his bended brow with *Scotch morter*, whereby he hath acquired a more ſmooth Synodian countenance, but in a ſmall time if he be let alone, he'l be as terrible and frighfull as ever; for his pritty ſmall Pegges that he ſpeakes off, your L. is therein mis-informed; for the *Furrier* that ſearched his mouth, was a *Presbyterean Horſe Doctour*, prepared on purpoſe by yongue Sir IOHN for that very end, who diſcovered to your L. only the upper part of his fore teeth, whereas were his mouth but ſearched by an *Independans Farrier*, he would diſcover beſides thoſe in the hinderpart of his Claſſicall Iawes; his Great Iron Fangs, as great and terrible as there in ſpoaken of by *Daniell cap. 7. 7.* And as for the good ſervice in thoſe *Enmity* mentioned that he performed in his Roade from *Scotland*, ſeemes it was ſoo good, that the Priſoners there care for no more of his priſon:

for

for if he *mumble* us thus with his *yergue ſmall Presbyterian Pegges*, what bloody maſſacrie, what cruell cruſhing of bones, rending, tearing and devouring of fleſh, muſt we expect, if your Lordship permit him the uſe of his dreadfull devouring *Tuskes*, his huge monſterous *iron Fangs*, but I hope your Lordſhip will firſt grant him the favour of an *Independant Tooth-drawer*, and then wee ſhall not greatly feare his *Gummes*: And concerning the *Mickle Armie*, my Lord, you may perceive how they would bind your hands from the execution of juſtice by the force of Armes, as though the wiſedome of this Court were to be inſlaved to ſuch ſiniſter reſpects; my Lord, it is highly deregatory to your Honour, and here are ſufficient *English Evidence*, to prove this old ſeducer, to be PERSECUTION himſelfe, as hath been manifeſt before your Honour; let not the people be thus depriv'd of juſtice, they did not in chuſing your Lordship to this place, wherein you are, intend the makeing of themſelves ſlaves in any the leaſt kind, to *Synods, Sir Iohns, force of armes*, or the like, or to put themſelves at ſo vaſt a diſtance, as to make their addreſſes to you, as to ſome *Dietie*, but in their chuſing of you, authoriſed and entruſted you, to vindicate and preſerve their native and juſt Liberties in generall, yea, and common to them with your ſelfe: therefore you cannot without betraing this Truſt, by any *coerſive power* ſubject any of their conſciences, perſons, or eſtates to any *Eccleſiaſticall Iurisdiction* whatſoever: And now ſeeing this *vile perſon* at the *Barre* hath been legally *indicted*, *araigned*, and *convicted*, and thereby found an Arch-enemie and Traytour to the peoples common Liberty and Safety, *Iudgement* and *Execution* ought forthwith to paſſe upon him accordingly, that this *Hypocriticall Phariſie*, this *blood-thirſty Catiffe*, this *long Gown'd Mountebanke* with his ſpirituall deluſions may no longer cheate the world, as he hath done.

Hereupon the Court proceedeth to Iudgment.

Iudge. Make Proclamation.

Crier. *O——yes, every man keep ſilence, &c.*

Iudge. With much patience this Court hath heard the ſeverall pleaes betwixt PERSECUTION, and LIBERTY-OF-CONSCIENCE urged on both ſides; having ſeriouſly weighed the ſame in the Ballance of equity, hath found PERSECUTION and his Abettours with all their *Pleas* too light, even meere ſubtile, airie, and empty deluſions: It is therefore the Sentence of this Court concerning Sir *Symon*, and Sir *Iohn Presbyter*, who have thus *Ieſuitically* endeavoured to pervert the juſtice of this *Court* by their falſe, their ſubtile, and *Trayterous* ſuggeſtions in the behalf of this notorious bloody *Malefactour* PERSECUTION, that Sir *SIMON* be committed *cloſe Priſoner* to *King Henry the eight, is Chappell*, there to be kept in *Parliamentory ſafe* *cuſtody*, till the *GREAT ASSISES*, held in the firſt yeare of the *RAIGNE* of our *Soveraigne Lord* CHRIST, (*when the Kingdom, and the greatnes of the Kingdome under the whole Heaven ſhall be given to the Saints of the moſt High*) there, and then to be *Araigned* with the reſt of his *Holy Tribe*, whether *Vniverſall*, *Nationall*; *Provinciall*, or *Conſiſtoriall Counſels*, or *Synods* whatſoever, before his *Highneſſe the* KING OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS.

I. Reaſ. And my Lord, in the meane time to keep his *Holineſſe* in action, I beſeech your Honour, that he may *Synodicate* a full Reſolution to theſe enſuing *Queries*.

1. Whether it doth not as much conduce to the *Subjects Liberty* ſtill to be ſubjected to *Epiſcopall uſurpation*, as to be given over to *Presbyterian cruelty?*

2. Whether it would not been more profitable for the Kingdome of *England*, to have forthwith hired a *Coach and twelve Horſes* to have ſet a *Directory* from *Scotland*, then to have ſpent the *learned conſultations*, *pious debates*, and *ſacred concluſions* of ſuch an *holy*, ſuch a *reverend*, ſuch an *heavenly*, ſuch a *godly*, ſuch a *learned*, ſuch a *pious*, ſuch a *grave*, ſuch a *wiſe*, ſuch a *ſollid*, ſuch a *diſcreete*, ſuch a *ſpirituall*, ſuch an *euangelicall*, ſuch an *infallible*, ſuch a *venerable*, ſuch a *ſuper-celeſtiall Quire of Angels*, ſuch a *ſuperlative Aſſembly of Divines* for almoſt theſe two yeares ſpace, after the profuſe and vaſt expence of above *fourty thouſand pounds*, beſides their *goodly fat Benefices*, upon their devouring *Guts*, for an *Engliſh* *DIRECTORY* of worſhip equivolent to the *Scotch* *DIRECTORY?*

3. Whether this Directory ſtanding in ſo many thouſands to fumble it together, and the Copy ſould at 400. and 50. *l.* be not of more value then the Writinges of the Prophets and Apoſtles.

4. Whether St. *Peters Chaire* doth not becomme a *Presbyter*, as well as a *Biſhop?*

5. Whether the late divine Ordinance for Tythes, Offerings, Oblations, and Conventions be not better Goſpell, and in all *Presbyterian wiſdome* to be preferred and provided before the *Directory for the worſhip of God?*

> *O Cives, Cives, quærenda pecunia primum,*
> *Virtus poſt nummos.*

Iudge. And as for Sir *IOHN PRESBYTER*, this Court hath *Voted* him to the uncleane, filthy, impious, unholy, darke, and worldly *Dungeon*, called, *IVRE HVMANO** there with *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, &c. the *Grand-Presbyters*, his *Fore-fathers*, to be faſt bound with the *Majeſteriall Chaines* of humaine *Lawes*, *Ordinances*, *Edicts*, &c. and in them to be kept in ſafe cuſtody till the aforeſaid great *Aſſiſes*, in the *Raigne* of our *Soveraigne Lord* Chriſt, there, and then to be brought forth to the Tryall of that *Great and terrible* DAY. *Now to the Priſoner.*

*That is as
it is · but
of service
to its owne
[illegible]
[illegible]
as it shall
punish
thou: —

PERSECUTION, hould up thy hand: Thou haſt been Indicted, and Araigned of emnity againſt God and all goodnes, of Treaſons, Rebellion, Bloodſhed, &c. and for thy tryall haſt put thy ſelfe upon thy Countrey, which Countrey have found thee guilty, and to award the Sentence of death, from paſſing upon thee, thou haſt had the liberty this Court in juſtice could permit, to make thy defence: we have heard thine allegations, evaſions, the Reaſons and Pleaes of thy Defendants, to whom was given all freedome of Defence could be deſired, alſo We have heard the diſtracted jubitaine mediation of J. *Conformity* in thy behalfe, yet notwithſtanding all that can be made for thee, thy guilt *is* ſo palpably apparant and groſſe, that all the ſubtilety, craft, and policy thou and thy Confederates can deviſe, cannot obſcure thee from the eye of juſtice: for this Court upon thy tryall, hath found out thy villany, Treaſon, and Bloodshed, and how thou art guilty of all that is laid to thy charge: Therefore the Sentence of this Court is, that thou ſhalt returne to the place from whence thou cameſt, to wit, the noyſome, and filthy CAGE *of every uncleane and hatefull Bird*, the CLERGIE of Chriſtendome, there to be faſt bound with *Inquiſition, Synoddicall, Claſſicall, Preiſt bitter-all Chaines* untill the Appearing of that Great and terrible Iudge of the whole Earth, who ſhall take thee alive, with Sir SYMON, and his Son Sir IOHN, and caſt thee with them and their Confederates into the LAKE of fire and brimſtone, where the Beaſt and the Falſe Prophet are, there to be tormented day and night for ever, and ever.

Rev. 19.1.2.3. *And after theſe things I heard a great voyce of much people in Heaven, ſaying, Allelujah: ſalvation and glory, honour and power, unto the Lord our God:*

For true and righteous are his judgments, for he hath judged the Great Whore, which did corrupt the Earth with her Fornication, and avenged the blood of his ſervants at her hand. Again they ſaid, Allelujah: And her ſmoak roſe up for ever and ever.

The POSTSCRIPT.

Leaſt the honeſt innocent Intentions of Yongue MARTIN ſhould receive ſome Synoddicall miſconſtruction, he deſires to be his owne Interpreter concerning ſome paſſages, and for the reſt he leaves to the fate of the publicke cenſure. Now whereas his Licence may ſeem to be an immitation of an Order of Parliament, it is only to ſhew the oſtentation, pride, and vaine glory of the boaſting Presbyters. And whereas he aſcribeth many Epithites, as, divine, holy, &c. to the Ordinance for Tythes, they are not intended in deriſion to the Parliament, or to any of their Lawes, Statutes, or Ordinances whatſoever, but are uſed in the ſence of Presbyterian acceptation, and of the reverend eſtimation they would perſwade us of that above any other whatſoever. And the uſe of the late League and Covenant, is likewiſe only in the Presbyterian ſence, ſimply reſpecting that Tribe, according to Edwards Interpretation thereof. Honeſt MARTIN would not be miſtaken, he is no enemie to the unity of the two Kingdomes in Civill League and peace, but it is his hearts deſire and prayers that not only they, but that all the Nations of the Earth were ſo in themſelves and one with another. And for the Advance of the Scots, that is uſed only to ſhew, how thoſe Presbyterian Ieſuites would make that, which the two Kingdomes intend for the common good, to be perverted only to the Advance of their Perſecuting Faction: And this MARTIN proclaimes to be his own genuine meaning.

FINIS.

and whear as sume say I most not heare the preists: you see for this that scripture 1 kings: 18·26·27·28: G

[JOHN LILBURNE]

ENGLANDS BIRTH-RIGHT JUSTIFIED

1645

Englands Birth-Right appeared anonymously in London in 1645, without license, imprint or separate title-page. The Preamble in Thomason's copy, now in the British Museum, appears opposite page one, which bears the title. On the blank recto of the page bearing the Preamble, Thomason wrote "Supposed to be Lilbournes or some friends of his. London 8ber [October] 1645." The anonymous author of *Regall Tyrannie discovered* (January 6), 1647, probably Lilburne, seems to throw some doubt on Lilburne's authorship of *Englands Birth-Right*, but the statement appears purposely ambiguous and is insufficient to upset Thomason's attribution, supported as it is by the impression created by the work itself. This was probably printed at the secret press with which Overton himself had some connection. Joseph Hunscott, an agent of the Stationer's Company, testified in his *Petition and information . . . to Parliament against divers scandalous Libels and treasonous Pamphlets* (June 11), 1646, that he had seized the press in Goodmans Fields at which *Englands Birth-Right* was printed, and connected William Larner with the printing of that and other scandalous pamphlets. See Volume I, pages 76 ff.; and also H. R. Plomer's "Secret Presses during the Civil War," in *The Library*, Vol. V (Second Series). The text is here reproduced from a copy of the original edition in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, collated with another copy in the Union Seminary and with a photostatic print of the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum. The Preamble in the Union copy has been misplaced by some later binder.

The PREAMBLE, *to all the Free-borne People of* ENGLAND.

B*Rethren* and *Fellow-Commons*; God and the world knowes, that the well-affected party of this Kingdome (diſcerned by their voluntary aide to the Parliament) having tryed all poſſible and fair means, as much as any People for number and power of any Kingdom or Nation ever did, by Prayers, Aſſiſtance, Concurrence, Attendance, Petitions, Oblations, Informations, and Diſcoveries, as well of Treaſons, as of utter deſolations, and perceiving themſelves now at laſt to be in a far worſe condition, both in number and power (their Lives and Eſtates, yea and precious time alſo being ſo far ſpent) then they were at the firſt; and beſides, like to looſe all, and ſcarcely to have (or leave) ſo much as their Lives, Lawes, or Liberties for a prey.

And ſeeing, by manifold examples of grievous experience, that neither Petitions can be eaſily accepted, juſtice truely adminiſtred, the Preſſes equally opened, the cryes of the poor heard, the teares of the oppreſſed conſidered, the ſighes of the Priſoners regarded, the miſeries of the widow and Fatherleſſe pittyed, nor ſcarcely any that are in diſtreſſe relieved but Lawes any way wreſted, moſt of our freedoms reſtrained, Ordinances, Proteſtations, Oathes, and Covenants ſlighted, the hearts of all Eſtates, King, Parliament, Prieſt and People obdured, the wicked for the moſt part abſolved, the juſt oftentimes condemned, and moſt of all in Authority perjured, not only by breaking that ſolemne Oath, which themſelves did make, and compelling others to take, but nevertheleſſe, by perſecuting thoſe who make Conſcience to keep it, even becauſe they will not break it. In deep, ſad, ſerious, and lamentable conſideration of all theſe grievous proceedings, and as much by feeling the ſmart, as hearing, ſeeing or knowing the verity thereof, chiefly the Opreſſions, taxations, Inſurrections, Rebellions, Preſecutions, Violences, Robbeies, Sequeſtrations, and Combuſtions, I with my poor one *Talent*, in ſtead of him that hath Ten, out of a dutifull and conſciencious love, tender and pittifull reſpect to my Nation, now in this her great defection, and apparent deſolation, chiefly for the remnant thereof (who mourn in ſecret, both for her great abominations, ſins, deſolations, and their own particular tranſgreſſions, and who doubtleſſe are marked to eſcape the fury of Gods fearfull indignation;)

Have uſed my beſt endeavours here, both to ſhew the maladies and remedies of this ſick, ſwouning, bleeding, and dying Nation, that if God hath not ordained it, like *Babell*, to ſudden, inevitable and utter deſtruction, it may yet be cured, and a remnant reſerved, according to the Lords uſuall dealing in all his viſitations, remembring his tender compaſſions and mercy, even in the midſt of his moſt fearfull judgements and ſeveritie, that in deſpight of Sathan and all his inſtruments, they may doe juſtice and judgement, and praiſe him in ſincerity. *Farewell.*

ENGLANDS BIRTH-RIGHT
Juſtified

Againſt all Arbitrary Vſurpation, *whether* REGALL *or* PARLIAMENTARY, *or under what Vizor ſoever*:

With divers *Queries*, *Obſervations* and *Grievances* of the People,
declaring this Parliaments preſent Proceedings to be directly contrary to thoſe fundamentall Principles, whereby their Actions at
firſt were juſtifyable againſt the *King*, in their preſent Illegall
dealings with thoſe that have been their beſt Friends, Advancers and Preſervers: And in other things of high
concernment to the *Freedom* of all the *Free-born*
People of *England*;

By a Well-wiſher to the juſt cauſe for which Lieutenant Col.
JOHN LILBURNE is unjuſtly impriſoned
in *New-gate*. Octob. 1645.

In the 150. *page* of the Booke called, An exact Collection of the *Parliaments* Remonſtrances, Declarations, &c. publiſhed by ſpeciall Order of the Houſe of *Commons*, March 24. 1642. we find there a Queſtion anſwered, fit for all men to take notice of in theſe ſad times; which followeth.

Queſt. *Now in our extreame diſtractions, when forraigne forces threaten, and probably are invited, and a malignant and Popiſh party at home offended, The Devill hath caſt a bone, and rais'd a Conteſtation between the* KING *and* PARLIAMENT *touching the* MILITIA. *His Majeſtie claims the diſpoſing of it to be in Him by the right of Law; The* Parliament *ſaith*, Rebus ſic ſtantibus, *and* nolenti Rege, *the Ordering of it is in them?*

Anſ. WHich Queſtion, may receive its ſolution hy this diſtinction. That there is in Laws an equitable, and a literall ſenſe. His Majeſtie (let it be granted) is intruſted by Law with the *Militia*, but it is for the good and preſervation of the Republick, againſt Forraign Invaſions or domeſtick Rebellions. For it cannot be ſuppoſed that the *Parliament* would ever by Law intruſt the King with the *Militia* againſt themſelves, or the Common-wealth, that intruſts them to provide for their weal, not for their woe. So that when there is certaine appearance or grounded ſuſpition, that the Letter of the Law ſhall be improved againſt the *equitie* of it (that is, the publick good, whether of the body reall or repreſentative) then the Commander going againſt its *equity*, gives liberty to the Commanded to refuſe *obedience* to the Letter: for the Law taken abſtract from its originall reaſon and end, is made a ſhell without a kernell, a ſhadow without a ſubſtance, and a body without a ſoul. It is the execution of Laws according to their *equity* and *reaſon*, which (as I may ſay) is the ſpirit that gives life to Authority the Letter kills.

Nor need this *equity* be expreſſed in the Law, being ſo naturally implyed and ſuppoſed in all Laws that are not meerly Imperiall, from that Analogie which all bodies Politick hold with the Naturall; whence all Government and Governours borrow a proportionable reſpect; And therefore when the *Militia* of an Army is committed to the Generall, it is not with any expreſſe condition, that he ſhall not turn the mouthes of his Cannons againſt his own Souldiers, for that is ſo naturally and neceſſarily implyed, that its needleſſe to be expreſſed, inſomuch as if he did attempt or command ſuch a thing againſt the nature of his truſt and place, it did *ipſo facto* eſtate the Army in a right of Diſobedience, except we think that obedience binds Men to cut their owne throats, or at leaſt their companions.

And indeed if this diſtinction be not allowed, then the legall and mixt *Monarchy* is the greateſt *Tyranny*; for if Laws inveſt the King in an abſolute power, and the Letter be not controlled by the equity, then whereas other Kings that are abſolute *Monarchs*, and rule by Will and not by Law, are *Tyrants* perforce. Thoſe that rule by Law, and not by Will, have hereby a *Tyranny* confer'd upon them legally, and ſo the very end of Laws, which is to give bounds and limits to the exorbitant wills of Princes, is by the laws themſelves diſappointed, for they hereby give corroboration (and much more juſtification) to an arbitrary *Tyranny*, by making it legall, not aſſumed; which Laws are ordained to croſſe, not countenance: and therefore is the Letter (where it ſeems abſolute) alwayes to receive qualification from the equity, elſe the foreſaid abſurdity muſt follow. *So farre the Parliaments own words.*

It is confeſſed by all rationall men, that the *Parliament* hath a power to annull a Law, and to make a new Law, and to declare a Law, but known Laws in force & unrepealed by them, are a Rule (ſo long as they ſo remain)for all the *Commons* of *England* whereby to walk; and upon rationall grounds is conceived to be binding to the very *Parliament* themſelves as well as others. And though by their legiſlative power they have Authority to make new Laws,yet no free-man of *England* is to take notice(or can he)of what they intend till they declare it: neither can they, as is conceived, juſtly puniſh any man for walking cloſely to the knowne and declared Law, though it croſſe ſome pretended Priviledge of theirs, remaining onely in their own breaſts.

For where there is no Law declared, there can be no tranſgreſſion; therefore it is very requiſite,that the *Parliament* would declare their Priviledges to the whole *Commons* of *England*, that ſo no man may through ignorance (by the *Parliaments* default) run cauſeleſly into the hazard of the loſſe of their lives, liberties, or eſtates: for here it is acknowledged by themſelves, that their Power is limited by thoſe that betruſt them; and that they are not to doe what they liſt,but what they ought, namely to provide for the peoples weal, and not for their woe: ſo that unknown Priviledges are as dangerous,as unlimited Prerogatives,being both of them ſecret ſnares,eſpecially for the beſt affected people.

It is the greateſt hazard and danger that can be run unto, to diſart the onely known and declared Rule; the laying aſide whereof brings in nothing but Will and Power,luſt and ſtrength, and ſo the ſtrongeſt to carry all away;for it is the known, eſtabliſhed, declared, and unrepealed Law, that tells all the Free-men of *England*, that the Knights & Burgeſſes choſen according to Law, and ſent to make up the *Parliament*, are thoſe that all the *Commons* of *England* (who ſend and chooſe them) are to obey.

But take away this declared Law:and where will you find the rule of Obedience? and if there be no rule of Obedience, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that if a greater and ſtronger number come to a *Parliament* ſitting, and tell them that they are more and ſtronger then themſelves,and therefore they ſhall not make Laws for them, but they will rather make Laws for them, muſt they not needs give place? undoubtedly they muſt.

Yea,take away the declared, unrepealed Law, and then where is *Meum & Tuum*, and Libertie, and Propertie? But you will ſay, the

Law declared, binds the People, but is no rule for a Parliament ſitting, who are not to walke by a knowne Law. It is anſwered: *It cannot be imagined that ever the People would be ſo ſottiſh, as to give ſuch a Power to thoſe whom they chooſe for their Servants*; for this were to give them a Power to provide for their woe, but not for their weal, which is contrary to their own foregoing Maxime; therefore doubtleſſe that man is upon the moſt ſolid and firm ground, that hath both the Letter and *equity* of a known, declared, and unrepealed Law on his ſide, though his practiſe doe croſſe ſome pretended Priviledge of *Parliament.*

And whereas by an Act made this preſent *Parliament*, *Anno* 17. *Caroli Regis*, intituled,

An Act for Regulating of the *Privie Counſell*, and for taking away the Court, commonly called, *The Star-Chamber.*

It is there declared, That the Proceedings, Cenſures and Decrees of the Star-Chamber, have by experience been found to be an intollerable burthen to the Subject, and the means to introduce an Arbitrary Power and Government, and that the Councell-Table have adventured to determin of the Eſtates, and Liberties of the Subject, contrary to the Law of the Land, and the Rights and Priviledges of the Subject. Which Laws are there recited, as firſt *Magna Carta*, and the 5. *Ed.*3. 9. and 25. *Ed.*3.4. and 28. *Ed.*3.3. the laſt of which ſaith, That it is accorded, aſſented, and eſtabliſhed, that none ſhall be taken by Petition, or ſuggeſtion made to the King or His Councell, unleſſe it be by Indictment, or preſentment of good and lawfull people of the ſame neighbourhood, where ſuch deeds be done; in due manner, or by Proceſſe made by Writ originall at the Common Law, and that none be put out of his franchiſe or Freehold, unleſſe he be duly brought in, to anſwer, and fore-judged of the ſame by the courſe of the Law; and by another Statute made in the 42. *Ed.*3 3. it is there inacted, That no man be put to anſwer without preſentment before Juſtices, or matter of Record, or by due Proceſſe and Writ originall, according to the old Law of the Land.

Therefore for the Subiects good and welfare in future time, it is Inacted, That from henceforth no Court, Councell, or place of Judicature ſhall be erected, ordained, conſtituted, or appointed within this Realme of *England*, or dominion of *Wales*, which ſhall have, uſe, or exerciſe the ſame, or the like juriſdiction , as is , or hath been uſed practiſed, or exerciſed in the ſaid Court of Sta.-Chamber; that then whoſoever ſhall offend, or doe any thing contrary to the purport, true intent and meaning of this Law, then he or they ſhall for ſuch offence, forfeit the Sum of five hundred pounds of Lawfull money of *England*, unto any party grieved, his Executors or Adminiſtrators, who ſhall really proſecute the ſame, and firſt obtaine judgement thereupon, to be recorded in any Court of Record at *Weſtminſter* by Action of debt, Bill, Plaint or Information , wherein no Eſſoine, Protection, wager of Law, aid, Prayer, Priveledge, Injunction, or Order of Reſtraint ſhall be in any wayes prayed, granted, or allowed, nor any more then one imparlance, &c. And the *Petition of Right*, which may be ſaid to be more then a bare Law (for it is a Declaration of the *equity*, true intent and meaning of *Magna Carta*,) and other the good Laws of the Land, which provides for the peoples freedome (and binds all, as well the truſted, as thoſe that truſt) as appeares in the Parliaments. Prayer to the King, which is, That no Free-man hereafter be uſed contrary to what is before expreſſed, &c. which they ſay is the Rights and liberties of the Free-men of *England* unto which the King anſweres, *Let Right be done according to the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Realme*; But this Anſwer admitting ſtill a Diſpute what was the true intent and meaning of the *Lawes* and *Cuſtomes* of the Realm.

They Petition the King again to give a more full & ſatisfactory anſwer, which he doth, and ſaith, *Let Right be done, as in the Petition is deſired*; and amongſt other things there expreſſed, it is declared to be contrary to law, to impriſon a man without cauſe ſhewed or expreſſed, and alſo that it is contrary to *Law*, to force a man to anſwer to Queſtions concerning himſelf, or for refuſall, to commit him to priſon. *So far their own words*: And therefore it were well that both Parliament-Committees, and all County-Committees, and other Magiſtrates in this Kingdom would compound with all thoſe honeſt and Free-men that they have at their own Wills unjuſtly committed to Priſon contrary to the true meaning of this *Law*, before by the ſentence of the *Law* they be forced to pay 500l. to every man they have ſo unjuſtly Impriſoned.

From the *equity* and letter of which *Lawes*, it is deſired that our learned *Lawyers* would Anſwer theſe inſuing QUERIES.

1. *Whether the Letter and* equity *of this Law doe not binde the very Parliament themſelves, during the time of their ſitting, in the like caſes here expreſſed, to the ſame Rules here laid downe? Which if it ſhould be denied,* Then

2. *Whether the Parliament it ſelf, when it is ſitting, be not bound to the obſervation of the Letter and* equity *of this Law, when they have to doe with Free-men, that in all their actions and expreſſions have declared faithfulneſſe to the Common-wealth? And if this be denied;* Then

3. *Whether ever God made any man law-leſſe? Or whether ever the Common-wealth, when they chooſe the Parliament, gave them a lawleſſe unlimmitted Power, and at their pleaſure to walke contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances before they have repealed them?*

4. *Whether it be according to Law, Juſtice, or Equity, for the Parliament to Impriſon or puniſh a man for doing what they command him, and by Oath injoyne him?*

5. *Whether it be legall, juſt or equall, that when Free-men doe endeavour according to their duty, Oath, and Proteſtation, to give in Information to the Parliament of Treaſon acted and done by Sir* John Lenthall, *againſt the State and Kingdome, and long ſince communicated to ſeveral Members of the Houſe of* Commons, *but by them concealed and ſmothered; and now by Gods Providence brought upon the ſtage againe, and during the time that Inquiſition is made of it before the Committee of Examination, before any legall charge be fixed upon Sir* John Lenthall, *or be required to make any Anſwer or Defence, that he ſhall be preſent to out-face, diſcourage, and abuſe the Informers and Witneſſes in the face of the Committee, without any check or controll from them?*

And ſometimes, while they are ſitting about the Examination of his Treaſon, that he ſhall ſit down beſide them with his hat on, as if he were one of them, and that he ſhall injoy from the Committee ten times more favour and reſpect, then the juſt, honeſt, and legall Informers againſt him; who by ſome of the Committees themſelves, while they are ſitting, are threatned, jeered, nick-named, and otherwayes moſt ſhamefully abuſed.

Yea, and the friends of the Informers for the State are kept without doores, and the friends of the accuſed admitted to come in alwayes without controll, and during the Examination of the Information, that the Committee ſhall refuſe to remove the Informers out of Sir John Lenthalls *cuſtody of* Kings-bench, *to another Priſon, although they have been* *truly informed, that he hath ſet Inſtruments on work to murther them, and alſo importuned to remove them.*

6. *Whether it be not moſt agreeable to Law, Juſtice and Equity, that ſeeing Sir* John Lenthall, *having ſo many friends in the Houſe concerned in the buſineſſe, that he ſhould not rather be tried by the ſame Councell of Warre in* London, *where Sir* John Hotham *and his Sonne were, then at the Parliament, his principall crime being againſt the Law Marſhall as theirs was?*

7. *Whether to anſwer to an Inditement, when a man is demanded Guilty or not Guilty, be not a criminall Interrogatory, concerning a mans ſelfe, and ſo a man not by law bound to Anſwer to it, eſpecially ſeeing to a Conſcienciouſ man, who dare not lie, it is a great ſnare, who if he be indicted of a thing he hath done or ſpoken, dare not plead, Not Guilty, for feare of lying, and if he plead guilty, he ſhall become a ſelf-deſtroyer (contrary to the law of Nature, which teacheth a man to preſerve, but not deſtroy himſelf) in declaring that which peradventure all his Adverſaries would never be able to prove againſt him.* And

Whether it be not more ſuitable and agreeable to the true intent of Magna Carta (*expreſſed in the* 28 *Chap. thereof*) *where it is ſaid,* No Bailiffe from henceforth ſhall put any man to his open Law, nor to an Oath upon his owne bare ſaying, without faithfull Witneſſes brought in for the ſame, and to the true intent and meaning of the *Petition of Right*, and the Act made this preſent *Parliament* for the aboliſhing the *Star-Chamber, &c.*

For a free-man to have a charge laid againſt him, and his Adverſaries brought face to face to prove it, and then the Accuſed to have liberty to make the beſt defence for himſelf he can, which was the practiſe amongſt the very Heathen Romans, *who had no light but the light of Nature to guide them*, Act. 25. 16.

Yea, Chriſt himſelf, when his enemies endeavoured to catch him by *Interrogatories*, he puts them off, without an Anſwer. *Luke* 22. 67, 68. 70. *Chap.* 23. 3.

Yea, when the High *Prieſt* asked him about his Diſciples, and his Doctrine, He anſwers, *Hee ever taught openly*, and therefore ſaith he, *Why aske ye mee? aske them that heard me, for they know what I ſaid*, John 18. 20, 21.

Hence juſtly it is conceived, that the *Parliament* may not condemne that man for contemning their Authoritie, who refuſeth to anſwer to Interrogatories before them (the ſupreame Court,)who anſwereth to Interrogatories in the like caſe before an inferiour Court, but you will ſay, it is the uſuall practiſe of the COMMON-LAW, the Queſtion is, whether that practiſe be juſt or no? or whether any *Law* in practiſe in the KINGDOME of *England* doth binde the Free-men thereof, but what is made and declared by Common Conſent in Parliament? and whether or no is there, or ought there not to be a plaine platforme agreed on, and laid down by the Parliament concerning things of ſo high conſequence to all the Commons of *England*? and ſeeing the Parliament hath taken care that the *Bible* ſhall be in Engliſh, that ſo *Laymen* (as they call them) may read it as well as the Clergy, ought they not alſo to be as carefull, that all the binding Lawes in *England* be in Engliſh likewiſe, that ſo every Free-man may reade it as well as Lawyers (ſeeing they have *Lives*, *Liberties* and *Eſtates* as well as the other) and peaceably enjoy them no longer then they continue in the obſervation of the *Laws* of this Kingdom; whereof they are Members: and ſeeing the *L*awyers are ſo full of broyles and contentions, and grow ſo rich and great thereby; have not the people cauſe to beleeve they drive on an Intereſt of their owne, diſtructive to the Peoples well-fare; yea juggle, and put falſe gloſſes upon the *Law* (meerly) for their own ends: Seeing ſo great a part of it is in an unknown tongue, (which the Commons call *Pedlers-french*, or *Heathen-Greeke*,) even as our State Clergy did in the daies of old, before the Scripture was tollerated to be in Engliſh, in which dayes they could eaſily make the poor people beleeve the Poopes unwritten verities were as binding as Scripture Rules, which the *Lawyers* have given the Commons juſt cauſe to fear, is their preſent practiſe with law Caſes; many of which are beſides the Rule of the Statute-law, and alſo againſt Juſtice, Equity and Conſcience, tending to no other end, but to inſlave the People?

8. *Whether it be not juſt and equall, that ſeeing* Monopoliſers *were thrown out of the Houſe about Foure yeeres agoe, as infringers upon the Common right of all the free-men of* England, *in ſetting up Pattents of* Soape, Salt, Lether, &c. *why ſhould not thoſe be partakers of the ſame juſtice now, that have been chief ſticklers in ſetting up greater Patentees then ever the former were?*

As firſt the Patent of ingroſſing the Preaching of the Word only to ſuch men as weare Black and rough garments *to deceive*, *Zech*.13.4. and have had a Cannonicall Ordination from the Biſhops, and ſo from the Pope, and conſequently from the Divell, although the Spirit of God doth command every man that hath received a gift, *to miniſter the ſame one to another, as good Stewards of the manifold grace of God*, 1 Pet.4.10,11.

And although ignorance and blindneſſe be ſo univerſall all over the Kingdome, experience teaching, that where that moſt abounds they draw their ſwords ſooneſt againſt the Parliament and Common-wealth (and ſo conſequently againſt themſelves, and continue the longeſt in their Rebellion, as now wee have woefull experience, yet theſe grand Monopolizers will neither goe amongſt them themſelves, nor ſuffer others without ſevere puniſhment to inſtruct and teach them the Principles of Chriſtianity, or Morallity, by means of which they become deſtroyers and murderers of ſoules and bodies, and enemies to the very Civill ſocieties of Mankind.

The ſecond Monopoly is the Patent of *Merchant Adventurers*, who have ingroſſed into their hands the ſole trade of all woollen Commodities that are to be ſent into the *Netherlands*, the miſchievouſneſſe you may at large read in a late diſcourſe conſiſting of motives for the inlargement and freedome of trade, eſpecially that of Cloath, & other woollen manufactures ingroſſed at preſent contrary to the law of Nature, the law of Nations, and the lawes of this Kingdome, by a company of private men, who ſtile themſelves *Merchant Adventurers*, the firſt part of which Diſcourſe (the ſecond being not yet come out) are to be ſold by *Stephen Bowtell* in *Popes-head-alley*. Wool being the ſtapell Commoditie of the Kingdome, and freee by the lawes and Conſtitutions of the land, for all the Free-men of *England* to trade in. 12. *H*.6.6. and 21.13. the injoyment of which is ſo eſſentiall a Priviledge to all the Commons of *England*, that whoſoever gives it from them, and by any pretended Patent or Authority whatſoever, aſſumes it to themſelves, are as culpable of the greateſt of puniſhments whatſoever, as thoſe that are guilty of Robbing the Free-men of *England*, of their birth-right and Inheritance, and yet the preſent *Farmers of the Cuſtome Houſe*, and their Aſſociates are guilty of this capital crime, for if *Naboath* would not part with his Vineyard (which was his Inheritance) to the King, although he would have given him as much money as it was worth, or a better for it, 1 *King.* 21.2. there is no reaſon why the free men of *England* ſhould have ſo great a part of their *Birthright*, as this is, taken from them by force and violence, whether they will or no, as their multitude of Petitions to the Parliament yet unanſwered, doe declare.

The third *Monopoly*, is that inſufferable, unjuſt and tyrannical Monopoly of Printing, whereby a great company of the very ſame Malignant fellows that *Canterbury* and his Malignant party engaged in their Arbitrary *Deſignes*, againſt both the Peoples and *Parliaments* juſt Priviledges (who turning with every winde, doe endeavour by all poſſible means, as well now as then, to ſell and betray the Kingdome for their own gaine,) are inveſted with an Arbitrary unlimmitted *Power*, even by a generall Ordinance of Parliament, to print, divulge and diſperſe whatſoever Books, Pamphlets and Libells they pleaſe, though they be full of *Lyes*, and tend to the poyſoning of the Kingdom with unjuſt and Tyrannicall *Principles*.

And not only ſo, but moſt violently (even now in Parliament time, which ſhould be like a cryed *Faire*, and each one free to make the beſt uſe of their *Ware*, both for the bublick, and their own private good) to ſuppreſſe every thing which hath any true Declaration of the juſt Rights and Liberties of the free-borne people of this Nation, and to brand and traduce all ſuch Writers and Writings with the odious termes of Sedition, Conſpiracie and Treaſon, but to countenance and authorize ſuch as ſhall calumniate them, and ſo both accept & reward ſuch men far better then their moſt faithfull ſervants and beſt advancers, juſt as the Biſhops formerly did againſt both the *Scots*, and the Parliament themſelves.

They doe not reſt here neither, but are yet further authorized with a generall Ordinance of this very Parliament, contrary to all law, juſtice, equity and reaſon, under pretence of ſearching for ſcandalous Books, to call numbers of deboyſt men with Smiths and Conſtables, yea and the trained Bands alſo (when they pleaſe) to aſſiſt them, and in moſt bold and tumultuous manner to break open and rifle, even the Parliaments owne (in all their greateſt dangers, troubles & diſtreſſes) moſt faithfull friends Houſes, Cheſts, Truncks and Drawers; and from thence to rob, ſteale, and felloniouſly to carry away ſuch of the Poſſeſſors proper goods, choice Linnens, and beſt things, as they pleaſe, as well as Books new and old, after they have put the owners themſelves out of doores, and commanded Conſtables to carry them before a Committee, and from thence to Priſon.

Where they may without any conſideration rott, if they will not either betray both a good Cauſe, and ſome other of the Parliaments beſt friends, when they had few others, or elſe ſubmit to their unjuſt lawes; beſides, it is a common thing for ſuch lawleſſe men to breake in, and ſearch honeſt mens ſhops, when neither the owners nor any of theirs are preſent to ſee what buſineſſe they have there.

And yet as unjuſtly as all the reſt, they doe not onely allow the weekly printing, divulging and diſperſing of *Oxford Aulicus*, and other Malignant Books and Pamphlets, tending to the ruine both of the *Kingdome* and *Parliaments Priviledges*, but likewiſe the ſending of Printing matterialls to the King, whereby to Print down both Power of Parliament, and freedome of People.

All which unjuſt dealings doe come to paſſe alſo with the privity of the Maſters and Wardens of the *Stationers* Company, as was openly proved to their faces at their publick Hall; who therefore like wiſe men perceiving the Plague afarre off, would not goe on ſtill and be puniſhed, but moſt cunningly, both to hide themſelves, and their treachery againſt the well-affected party, and divide their ſpoile, ſo unjuſtly obtained by lying in waite for blood, they have now procured by this their good ſervice to the Parliament (as they did to the Biſhops) the forme or power of a *Stationer-Committee* in *London* among themſelves, that they may henceforth without either Cenſure or Reſiſtance of *Higher Powers*, both abſolve the wicked, and condemne the juſt, and ſo doe whatſoever they liſt.

The next *Monopoly*, it is to be feared will be upon *Bread* and *Beere*, for as juſtly may there be a Monopoly upon them, as upon the former.

Oh *Engliſhmen*! Where is your freedoms? and what is become of your *Liberties* and *Priviledges* that you have been fighting for all this while, to the large expence of your *Bloods* and *Eſtates*, which was hoped would have procured your *liberties* and *freedomes*? but rather, as ſome great ones Order it, ties you faſter in bondage and ſlavery, then before; therefore look about you betimes, before it be too late, and give not occaſion to your Children yet unborne to curſe you, for making them ſlaves by your covetouſneſſe, cowardly baſeneſſe, and faint-heartedneſſe; therefore up as one man, and in a juſt and legall way call thoſe to account, that endeavour to deſtroy you, and betray your Liberties and Freedomes.

9 *Whether it be not more agreeable to Equitie, Law, Juſtice, and Conſcience, that the badge of a Malignant, or a man uncapable of bearing Office in the Common-wealth, or being choſen to ſit in Parliament, as one to make Laws, ſhould not rather be, for being diſaffected to common Freedome, and having either in purſe or perſon declared his diſaffection thereunto, in any ways aſſiſting the Common enemy, who hath drawne his ſword, to deſtroy the freedome of the Common-wealth, which by the Law of this Land is granted unto the Free People thereof, (by means of which all ſuch have disfranchiſed themſelves) then for refuſing out of Conſcience to take the* Nationall Covenant?

Which was firſt ordained to beget Unity between the Nations, but as ſad experience teacheth, in its effects produceth nothing leſſe amongſt us, ſetting us at as bitter a Warre and conteſtation amongſt our ſelves, (almoſt as wee have with our profeſſed enemies) who before this unhappy make-baite came amongſt us, were knit together in love and affection as one man againſt the common enemies of our Liberties, *Peace* and *ſafety*, and had no upbraiding one another with being a *Covenanter*, or an *Anti-Covenanter*, which breeds conſtant heart-burnings amongſt us, and which if it be not by ſome wiſe, moderate and diſcreet means prevented, is likely to burſt out into a dangerous flame in the midſt of us, ſo that our being knit faſter to God, and each to other by a band of Unity, is hereby fruſtrated.

Secondly, the Preamble of the *Covenant* it ſelfe ſaith, that the taking of it is not the chiefe part of it, but the keeping of it, the benefits of it being ſure and ſtedfaſt to us, when wee are ſure and ſtedfaſt in the Obſervation of the things Covenanted: ſo that if there be not the Obſervation of them, the ends and intention of it is voide and fruſtrate; but it is obſerved that many of thoſe that authoriſed it, and firſt took it, within a little after, runne both out of the Houſe of Peeres and Commons to the King to *Oxford*, and drew their ſwords againſt it, to deſtroy it, and ſo became wilfully perjured, and the moſt part of the reſt that ſtill remaine, have been very active in ſetting up things quite contrary to the true and declared intent and meaning of the *Covenant*.

As firſt, it tyes all thoſe that take it without reſpect of perſons, to indeavour the extirpation of Popery, but contrary hereunto, there is an Ordinance lately made for the ſtrict payment of *Tythes*, to the *Clergy*, for their maintenance, although it be one of the greateſt branches of *Popery* that ever was eſtabliſhed in *Rome*, the taking away of which in any place where *Popery* is profeſſed, is a more direct way to root up *Popery*, then the taking away all things elſe profeſſed by the Papiſts, for the Clergy are ſuch greedy dogges, as the Prophet calls them, that they can never have enough, *being ſheepheards that cannot underſtand, ſeeing they all look to their owne way, every one for his gaine*, *Eſai*. 56.10,11. that they will be of any Religion where riches or profit is to be had, and will be ſure to avoide and hate that Religion that brings in no profit to fill and cram their fat guts, *who bite with their teeth, and prepare warre for thoſe that putteth not into their mouthes*. Micah. 3. 5. Beſides, *Tythes* is a Jewiſh Ceremony aboliſhed, as all the reſt by the death of Chriſt upon the Croſſe, *Heb*. 7.5.12.28. & 8. 5. & 9.9.15.26.28. the eſtabliſhing of which againe, *is the denying of CHRIST'S death, and a ſetting up of* Moſes *and the Ceremoniall law*: for as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Gal*. 5.3. *For I teſtifie againe to every man that is Circumciſed, that hee is a debter to doe the whole law*, yea ſaith he, *Chriſt is become of none effect to ſuch a man*, ſo ſay I, Hee that compells you to pay Tythes, compels you to keep the whole law, which whoſoever goes about to doe, is fallen from Grace. *Gal*. 5.4. Again, the payment of *Tythes* is an unjuſt and unequall thing in a Civill ſenſe, for that the Prieſts, who are not one for a thouſand of the reſt of the Inhabitants in the Kingdome ſhould have the tenth part, yea, or rather the ſeventh part of all things a man hath (ſaving his Children) conſidering that they never labour for it with their hands, nor earne it with the ſweat of their browes, nor beſtow any kind of Charges, is the moſt unjuſt thing in the world, and ſo intollerable oppreſſing a burthen, that the *Free-people* of *England* are not able to beare it, as the Petitions preſented by divers perſons already to the Houſe, and thoſe many Petititions that are in agitation both in the City of *London*, and many Shires in the Country doe and will fully declare.

A ſecond thing ſworne to in the Covenant, as other branches of

Popery is, *to root out and exterpate Prelacy* (as there it is expreſſed, *Church-Government by Archbiſhops , Biſhops , their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deanes, ſub-Deanes and Chapiters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy,*) and yet the ſame men have eſtabliſhed the Biſhop's Prieſts , and ſervants, who have no other calling in the world whereby to ſtand, but what they had from them, as both the Ordinance and the Prieſts themſelves confeſſe, and yet by vertue of this Papall, Prelaticall Call, they Inſtitute and ordaine a Generation of *Antichriſtian Officers*, to fill the Kingdome (contrary to the *Covenant*) as full of Popery and Popiſh Officers, as ever it was in the Biſhops dayes : the drivers on of which deſigne (*if they have taken the Covenant,*) are every man of them perjured.

But you will ſay though the *Parliament* and *Prieſts* acknowledge the *Biſhops* to be Antichriſtian , yet the preſent *Prieſts* ſay, they were not ordained by them as Biſhops, but as Presbiters, who had their Calling from the Pope , not as a Pope , but as a *Presbyter*.

To which I Anſwer, the Devill was an Angel of Light, but is now a Devill; the queſtion is, Whether now hee doth thoſe actions that he doth as an *Angel of Light* , or as a *Devill* ? Even ſo, (admit for Diſputations ſake only it ſhould be granted,) the *Pope* was once a *Presbyter*, but is now a *Pope*, *Antichriſt*, *the man of ſinne*, *and ſonne of Perdition*, as is confeſſed by the *Prieſts* themſelves , The Queſtion therefore to them is, whether the *Pope* doth the actions that he doth as a *Presbyter*, or as the grand *Antichriſt* the Pope; againe, the Biſhops, as they themſelves confeſſe, are *Antichriſtian*, and as *Antichriſtian* hath petitioned againſt them to this very *Parliament* , that ſo they might be extirpated *root* and *branch*.

The Queſtion now to the *Prieſts* is , Whether the *Biſhops* did thoſe actions that they did after they were made *Biſhops* , as *Antichriſtian Biſhop*, or as JESUS CHRIST'S *Presbyters* ? and if they were *Antichriſtian*, then ſurely thoſe that are made by them are the ſame, and not in the leaſt degree any better , for the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.7.7.* without all contradiction , *the leſſe is bleſſed of the greater*, therefore for theſe men to ſay , *they are better then-thoſe that made them*, is a meer rediculous foppery; Chriſt himſelfe telling all ſuch men, *they are very fooles*, *Matth.*23.16,17,18,&c. where in the like caſe hee ſaith unto the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; *Woe unto you blinde guides, which ſay, Whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Temple, it is nothing, but whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the gold of the Temple, he is a debter. Yee fooles and blind: For whether is greater, the gold, or the Temple that ſanctifieth the gold? and whoſoever ſhall ſweare by the Altar, it is nothing, but whoſoever ſweareth by the gift that is upon it, hee is guilty. Ye fooles and blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the Altar that ſanctifieth the Gift. Whoſoever therefore ſhall ſweare by the Altar, ſweareth by it, and by all things thereon: and who ſhall ſweare by the Temple, ſweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein*: read likewiſe the 1 *Cor.* 10.17. *Hoſea*.9.4.

From all which places, to my underſtanding, it cleerly appeares, that no man whatſoever can be inſtated into any Office whatſoever by an *Antichriſtian Power*, but his *Function* is as *Antichriſtian* as his that made him, for as *James* ſaith, *chap.* 3.11. *Doth a fountaine ſend forth at the ſame place ſweet water, and bitter?* therefore in the words of the *Prophet* Eſai. *chap.*5.20. *I ſay, woe unto them that call evill good, that put darkneſſe for light, and light for darkneſſe, that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter.*

But if this be not enough to prove them *Antichriſtian*, but that yet they think the ſtream of *Presbyterian* impoſition of hands is run ſo cleer from the Apoſtles to the Pope, and from the Pope to the Biſhops, and from the Biſhops to them, I would faine know of them Pope Jo how they will be able to prove, that it purely came through the hands of *Pope JOANE*, or where they will ever finde in the *New Teſtament*, that ever a woman in their ſenſe was a *Presbyter*, or ever laid her hands upon other *Presbyters*, to ordaine them.

Thirdly, How they will be able to prove their ſucceſſion to come truly to them, ſeeing there hath been ſometimes two *Popes* at once, [illegible] [illegible] and ſometimes three, and each excommunicating the other as falſe, at once how they will be able infalibly to make it appeare, that their *Ordination* came from the true *Pope*, and not from the falſe? Or how out of the *New-Teſtament* they will ever be able to prove, that a Biſhop, Paſtor or Teacher, did ever lay his hands to ordaine another Biſhop, Paſtor, or Teacher? and till they be able ſatisfactorily to anſwer to all theſe *Queries*, I ſhall account them as *Antichriſtian* as the Biſhops, and as papiſticall as the *Pope* himſelf, and every man a perjured man that hath taken the *Covenant*, that doth not earneſtly endeavour to extirpate and root them out, their power and Intereſt being ſo deſtructive to the Peace, Safety and Freedome of a Nation, as all ages, times and places doe fully declare where they have had footing; and this the *Parliaments* owne Declaration, made the Fifteenth day of *December*, 1642, doth cleerly hold out, which is worth every true-hearted *Engliſh-mans* ſerious peruſall and Obſervation.

In the third place, they ſweare to preſerve the Liberties of the Kingdome, and yet commit men to priſon for ſtanding for them, witneſſe Lieutenant Colonell *Lilburnes* lying in *New-gate*, committed, originally no man knowes wherefore; and thoſe that were the Authors of his impriſonment, are aſhamed to this day, to tell him for what cauſe they have committed him: And becauſe they would faine pick a hole in his coat, they not onely keep his eſtate from him, but as if they intended to deſtroy him without remedy, doe commit him to priſon, which action indeed tendeth to his utter ruine, and then lay all the Provocations and aſperſions upon him, which they can deviſe againſt him in his Impriſonment, becauſe they had none before.

And then at their laſt pinch, examine him upon Interrogatories at the Committee of Examinations, concerning himſelf, (juſt *High-Commiſſion* and *Star-Chamber-like*,) and becauſe he ſtands upon his right, and the law of the Land, and will not anſwer, they turne him over to *New-gate* amongſt Roagues and Cut-purſes, there to brand him with infamie as much as in them lyeth, that ſo it ſhall never be taken off from him as long as he lives, and then to make Orders to arraigne him at *New-gate* Seſſions, if they can deviſe a crime, and get Lawyers to plead againſt him, before they have done him one bit of juſtice in helping him to the moneys they owe him.

O *Engliſh men*, what doe you think of the makers, and firſt takers of this Covenant, are they periured yea or no? are you able to diſcerne the benefit of forced Covenants, are they not like forced Religion?

In the fourth place, they ſweare faithfully, *To diſcover all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Inſtruments againſt the publick good, and what miſchief they are not able in their own perſons to ſuppreſſe or overcome, that they ſhall reveale or make knowne, that it may be timely prevented or remedied*; all which they ſweare to doe, as in the ſight of GOD.

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And yet notwithſtanding, although Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, according to his duty long ſince, revealed the Earl of *Mancheſters* treachery and baſeneſſe at *Dennington* Caſtle, and other places, and proved it punctually by unqueſtionable witneſſes before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and before hee could *perfect his charge*, he was ſent upon an unhopefull deſigne with Sir *William Waller* to relieve *Taunton* with Horſe, although it be an exceeding cloſe incloſed Country, where a hundred foot may deale with a thouſand horſe.

And when he came back to *Windſor*, he was poſted away *Uriah-like*, by ſpeciall command, with his owne Regiment of Horſe, to lie betwixt *Oxford* and *Worceſter*, (in the very roade way of deſtruction, had not the Noble Generall (by GODS Providence) exceedingly ſtreightned his party) and after that hee is poſted from place to place, and never ſuffered to come to the Parliament ſince, whereby *Mancheſters* treaſon lies, as it were hid, although it be more fully proved (as ſome of that Houſe have ſince confeſſed) then ever *Straffords* was; and yet he is ſuffered to act in all the great deſignes of the Kingdome, unto this preſent.

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2. Maſter *Muſſenden* and Mr. *Wolley*, and divers others (Gentlemen of quallity) of the Committee of *Lincolne*, in *Auguſt*, 1644. exibited Articles of *High-Treaſon*, and other hainous miſdemeanors againſt Colonell *Edward King*, to the Houſe of *Commons*: which Articles they have ſince Printed and publiſhed to the view of the World; yet can they not to this day get any hearing of them, that ſo they may prove againſt him what they accuſe him of, howbeit, although in their Fourth and Twelfth Article, they accuſe him of plaine *High-Treaſon*, their owne words are as followeth: As

Article 4. *When hee (the ſaid Colonell* King *) was before* Newarke, *he ſent for a Captaine, who kept* Crowland, *who obeyed his command, yet ſent word to him of the danger that Towne was in, and therefore deſired his ſecond pleaſure, which was, That he ſhould march; who accordingly did; the Gentlemen of the Country fearing the enemy, procured Major* Ireton *to ſend a* 100. *Musketiers to keep* Crowland, *which hee hearing of, took ill, that without Order from him, any ſhould come into his liberties, and commanded them to be gone, who accordingly departed; the enemy preſently ſurpriſed the Towne, and thoſe few that he had left in it, by which meanes he betrayed the Towne unto the enemy, which was not* *regained without much charge, hazard, and loſſe of many mens lives.*

Article the 12. *That when the Enemy took* Grantham, *they being beaten from one part of the Town, wheeled about, to fall upon the other ſide, at a place called* Spittle-gate, *which Major* Savill (*being then Major of the Towne*) *perceiving, commanded Colonell* King(*being then Captaine of a Company there*)*to march with his Company to defend that place, Colonell* King *anſwered, That he ſcorned to be commanded by him, and rather then he would be commanded by him, he would take his company, and let the enemy into the Towne, and he delayed ſo long before hee would goe, that the enemy was entred at the ſaid Port before hee came thither, by which means he betrayed that Towne.* Alſo,

3. *John Muſgrave* Gentleman, hath complained to the Commons in this preſent Parliament againſt *Richard Barwis* Eſq. Burgeſſe for *Carlile*, and a Member now ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, and lately one of the Commiſſioners of Parliament for both Kingdomes, that at his being at *Edenborough*, he held correſpondency with the Commiſſioners of *Array*, both for *Weſtmerland* and *Cumberland*, and in his Twentieth Article againſt him, he ſaith. *That when the ſaid* Richard Barwis *was at* Sunderland, *hee had Intercourſe by Letters with the chief Delinquents in* Cumberland, *which were, eſpecially Baronet* Graham, *Baronet* Muſgrave, *Baronet* Curwen, *and* Sir *Willfrede Lawſon*; and *that the ſaid Mr.* Barwis *Eſtate was protected by means of ſome of the foreſaid Knights, during the time the King had the Command of the North, and that Mr.* Barwis *was an Inſtrument in getting men nominated to be Committee-men for the* Parliament, *while they were in actuall Rebellion againſt the Parliament and Kingdome, and hath been an inſtrument in getting the Command of both the foreſaid Counties into the hands of thoſe that actually have been in Armes, and committed treaſon againſt the Common-wealth, who abuſe the honeſt well-affected to the Parliament there, as much as ever they were while the King had the Command of them: and though complaint hath been made of all this to many of the Houſe of Commons, and much more by Mr.* Muſgrave, *and his partner, who are ſent up to the Parliament from the Country (as Commiſſioners for that purpoſe) yet they cannot be heard or finde any* Juſtice *againſt Mr.* Barwis, *and the other Delinquents, by means whereof, both the Counties are in danger ſhortly to be loſt and deſtroyed.*

4. Some Gentlemen of the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, long ſince complained to divers Parliament men of old Sir *Henry Vanes* wilfull looſing and betraying their Country, being there Lord Lieutenant, but by reaſon of his greatneſſe could never be heard, but in regard the ſubſtance of his charge is come into my hands, from the hands of a Gentlemen of that Country now in *London*: I have inſerted here, that you may read it as followeth, only with this caution, that ſeeing in the Copy I took it out of, there were ſome interlynings at the latter end thereof, that if a word ſhould be diſplaced, you would not therefore throw aſide all the reſt of it, for I dare pawne my life, the ſubſtance of it will be proved.

The *Militia* of the County of *Durham* was intruſted with Sir *Henry Vane* the elder, to whom ſome Gentlemen of the County repaired, and deſired his care therein, which he omitting, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* in *Auguſt*, 1642 taking advantage thereof, came into the County of *Durham*, and to the Towne of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, with divers Captaines, Commanders, not exceeding the number of 100. men, to raiſe forces againſt the Parliament, and by *Michaelmas* after, he increaſed to 500. or 600. men at the moſt, and Sir *Henry Vane* having Armes of his owne in his Houſe at *Raby* Caſtle, ſufficient to arme 100. men, thoſe Armes were carried by his two principall ſervants, *William Conyers*, a Popiſh Recuſant, and *Henry Dingly* his ſoliciter in his Law affaires, to the Towne of *Newcaſtle*, where they were delivered to one appointed by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, to receive them, and *Conyers* and *Dingley* received a note for the receit of thoſe armes.

All which being publikely known in the Country, the people were much diſheartned, and for that the party intruſted with the *Militia*, had furniſhed the enemie as aforeſaid, many were forced to take up Armes under the command of the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, divers for feare fled out of the Country, and others of them, who ſtaid longer, were taken and impriſoned: and ſhortly after, the Earles Army increaſed to the number of 5000. and upwards, as it was commonly reputed, there being 39. Colours of foot, and 25 Troops of Horſe, or neere thereabouts; and the affected plundered in their Eſtates to their utter impoveriſhment.

Our humble deſire is, That no man that hath taken up Armes, and *ſerved, or been active in this unnaturall Warre, againſt the Parliament, or are Delinquents, or willingly contributed thereunto, be put into Commiſſion, or imployment, or Adminiſtration of Juſtice, untill the well-affected of the Country be heard concerning their offences, and miſdemeanours, and the ſame be determined of in the Parliament, &c.*

This Information was preſented to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Eſſex*, in *February*, 1643. by *Richard Lilburne*, and his brother *George Lilburne*, in the preſence of *Edward Wright*, *Nicholas Heath*, *John Ewbanke*, and *Michael Dawſon*, all of the County of *Durham*.

¶ *The Copies of Colonell* THO. MIDFORDS *Certificate, with others, given under their hands.*

THat about *July*, 1642. *Thomas Midford* and *George Lilburne* went on purpoſe to the Houſe of Sir *Henry Vane* the elder, neere *Charing-Croſſe*, and there acquainted him of the freequent meetings of the Papiſts and their adherents, in the County of *Durham*, and that they did not onely gather together moſt of the prime Horſes of the ſaid County, but did exerciſe them in Armes, and trained the ſaid Horſe, to the diſcouragement of all the true-hearted Proteſtants of the ſaid County: And that the Sea-ports of the ſaid County were fit to be taken care of, which the ſaid Sir *Henry Vane* promiſed to take timely care of, making ſhew that hee intended ſhortly to goe downe into the ſaid County: In the meane time, deſired the ſaid *George Lilburne*, and the ſaid *Thomas Midford* to goe to the Deputy Lieutenants, and acquaint them with the aforeſaid Information, and to tell them from him, that he could not then write to them concerning the ſame, but bid them take care thereof, till he gave further Order.

The ſaid *Thomas Midford*, about the end of the ſaid moneth, comming into the ſaid County, went to *Durham*, and did acquaint Sir *William Darcie*, being then high Sheriffe of the ſaid County, Sir *John Conyers* and others at *John Halls* Houſe in *Durham*, of the ſame, who returned the ſaid *Midford* no other anſwer, but *well, well*, and ſeemed to make no great matter thereof.

18 *June*, 1645. *Tho. Midford.*

In the yeere 1643, *Nicolas Heath* of *Little-Eden* in the County of *Durham* Eſq. came to Sir *Hen.Vane ſenior* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and told him that the County was in a very ſad Condition, and the Inhabitants utterly undone, unleſſe there were ſome preſent courſe taken for preventing of raiſing the forces which were then a gathering; but Sir *Henry Vanes* Anſwer was, *That he nere thought otherwiſe.*

18 *June*, 1645. *NIC. HEATH.*

Mr. *Henry Dingly* died in *Jan.* 1644. at *Charing-Croſſe*, and lodged neer Sir *Henry Vanes* Home, *teſtis John Marr*, Eſq. Clarke of the Kitching to the Prince.

Mr. *William Conyers*, Steward of his Land, hath continued his ſervice likewiſe, and lived in *Raby Caſtle*, ever ſince the carrying of the Armes from the ſaid Caſtle to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, till within theſe Foure moneths laſt paſt, *Teſtis*, Mr. *George Lilburne*, and Col. *Rob. Lilburne*, his Nephew. *June* 2. 1645.

5. When Alderman *Gurney* was Lord Major of *London*, the Citizens complained to the Parliament of him and others of his Brethren, and alſo of the Recorder *Gardner*, thoſe that proſecuted the Cities buſines, was principally Alderman *Folkes*, and Alderman *Gibbs*, that Monopoliſer, and Mr. *Gline* now Recorder, ſate in the Chaire of that Committee, but as ſoon as they had juſtled out thoſe, they complained of, and ſet themſelves downe in their places or Saddles, rode and ſpurr'd the poor Commons of *London* as hard as ever the former did, and troad in *Strafford's* pathes of Arbitrary Goverment, as much as the former, and the People ſigh, groane, and cry out of their uniuſt bondage by the Lord Major preſent, Recorder and Court of Aldermen, and the Parliament look upon them with a ſighting eye, and afford them no helpe, though the Commons of *London* have been chief Inſtruments under GOD of ſaving their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, howbeit now they goe about to make them ſlaves for their paines; it were well therefore the *Commons* of *London* would aske their *Foure Burgeſſes*, if they did not ſend them to ſit in Parliament, to preſerve and defend their Liberties, and if they finde they have not performed their truſt, then to deſire to chooſe Foure more Faithfull, Carefull and ſtouter in their places, and that the Commons of *London* are ſenſible of their being rob'd of their Freedomes by the aforeſaid par-

ties, the Petition of divers of them preſented to the whole Common Councell, ſitting in *Guild-hall* in *Aprill* laſt, and ſince printed, doth fully declare; whereof a true Copy here followeth.

To the Right Honourable,
The LORD MAJOR, *and the Right Worſhipfull, the* Aldermen, *and* Common-Councell of the City
of LONDON;

In Common Councell Aſſembled.

The humble Petition of divers Citizens of this Honourable City.

SHEWING,

THat the afflictions and ſorrows of our hearts are unexpreſſible, in regard of the manifold miſeries that are upon us, and thouſands of our deer Brethren, and fellow Citizens complaints being generall,and very grievous. As amongſt many other;

I. *That the Poore is in great neceſſity; wanting wherewith to ſet themſelves on worke, their Children uneducated, and thereby prepared to wickedneſſe and beggery.*

II. *That Trading is exceedingly decayed, whereby thouſands that have lived in a free and plentifull way, are many fallen, and are more falling into great extremity.*

III. *That Aſſeſments are made very unequall, whereby the Taxes laid upon the City, are made burthenſome, and paid with much repining.*

IV. *That the Forces of the Citie are very much abated, and that the Citie is not in a Poſture of Warre anſwerable to its greatneſſe, or its danger.*

And though there hath not been wanting continuall endeavours of juditious charitable perſons to preſcribe remedies for thoſe grievances,yet our miſeries are ſuch,that we are in effect debarr from opening our griefes, or propoſing our remedies to any that hath power to help us.

For if wee motion our going to the Parliament immediately (as
was

was uſuall and ſucceſsfull in former times) our mouthes are preſently ſtopt with this prejuditiall rumour. *That the Parliament will not receive any Petition from the Citizens, but by the Common-Councell*; whereupon few or none will move in that way, though there be never ſo urgent neceſſities.

If wee propoſe to goe through the *Common-Councell*, ſad experience hath proved it ſo difficult to obtaine a Common-Councell, that men are weary in purſuance thereof. The Lord Major and Aldermen challenging to themſelves Prerogative of calling Common Councells onely when they ſee cauſe, alſo that nothing ſhall be debated, but what hath been firſt preſented to the Court of Aldermen, and that after debate, the Lord Major hath a negative voice or power to Null or fruſtrate all that hath been debated by refuſing to put to Vote, or by diſſolving the Court at his pleaſure. By which Prerogative Rules, if the Lord Major will not, or cannot preſerve the Citizens from miſeries and deſtruction, Will not heare our Complaints, nor be ſenſible of our neceſſities, The whole power of the choſen Common-Councell men, may not interpoſe, or uſe any meanes for our preſervation and relief. Wee willingly give all due honour to the Lord Major and Aldermen in referrence to their particular Offices. But that the ſafety and well-being of ſo great a People ſhould depend upon the underſtanding and affections of ſo few, and that the whole City muſt be without a juſt means to preſerve themſelves, or to remedy things that are any wayes amiſſe, except the Lord Major and Aldermen will aſſent, And that thoſe whom the People yeerly chooſe, and principally intruſt, ſhould be made uſeleſſe at their pleaſure. And themſelves eſtated with ſuch a power, that no Authority in the City can call them to an account in caſes of miſ-government, is ſo perniciouſly obſtructive and intollerable, as is not to be pleaded, but *to the enſlaving of the People.*

Whereas of Right, the People of the City are a free People, and are not to be bound or concluded but by their own conſents, or by the major part of thoſe they yeerly chooſe to give their conſents in common and free Councell, who are Commonners choſen from amongſt themſelves, with reference to their Conſciences, and good affections. In whom the concluding law-making power of the City juſtly is. It being deſtructive and improper that it ſhould be eſtated in two diſtinct juriſdictions. And therefore, ſince wee have none to open our griefes unto, but unto you, And that it is thought convenient, that wee ſhould apply our ſelves to this Court in whatſoever we deſire to preſent unto the Parliament.

Wee moſt earneſtly intreat you to ſhake off all pretences of Prerogatives, by which (and the like) the Citie and Common-wealth have been moſt groſſely inſlaved, and that you will reduce your ſelves into ſo proper and juſt a method of proceeding, as may ſtand with the condition of a free people, and conduce to the remedying of all grievances, and removall of all our afflictions.

Unto which end we humbly propoſe to your grave conſideration, as followeth.

I. *That you will be pleaſed to Order a Court of Common Councell once every week to meet without warning upon a certaine day, and expreſſe houre, and to publiſh the ſame, that all the Inhabitants of the City may be informed thereof.*

II. *That you will alſo publiſh your readineſſe to receive all Informations and Petitions from any of the Inhabitants, there having been many moſt neceſſary and uſefull things ſtiffled for want of incouragement in this kind.*

III. *That you will reſolve within your ſelves, to maintaine the Eſſence and freedome of your Court,* As namely,

To take into your Conſiderations, and freely to debate whatſoever the preſent or greater part ſhall thinke meet and neceſſary. To Vote and conclude whatſoever to the major part ſhall ſeem good: To continue the preſent Seſſion or Court, as the preſent occaſions ſhall require, To adjourne to what day and time ſhall by the greater part be thought convenient, over and beſides the ſet weekly Court, *without which, and the due Obſervations of all reaſonable Orders, as by your wiſedome ſhall be provided, you will appeare to every juditious underſtanding, but as a meer ſhadow of Power, and no wayes helpfull.* And therefore,

IV. *That you will be pleaſed to make a perpetuall ſtanding Order, or Law, that whatſoever Perſon or Perſons ſhall from henceforth by ſecret or open meanes endeavour to deprive the Court of* Common-Councell *of the foreſaid Rights, Freedoms or Priviledges (in the vindicating whereof ſome members of this Court then Commoners expreſt much zeale againſt that obſtinate Lord Major* Gurney, *and his perverſe Aſſociates)* *ſhall be inſtantly disfranchiſed, and otherwiſe puniſhed, as ſhall ſeem good to the Juſtice of this Court.*

Theſe wee moſt earneſtly intreate may be ſpeedily eſtabliſhed, as being the only meanes to incourage your Petitioners, and all other well-affected People, to ſtudy and preſent you with ſuch materialls as may happily tend to give a ſpeedy end to all our miſeries.

And wee ſhall ever pray, &c.

This Petition was delivered the 15. *of* April, 1645. *to the Common-Councell of* London, *ſitting at* Guild-hall.

6. Sir *John Lenthall* having acted and done many things of extraordinary prejudice againſt the State, one Captaine *Cob*, a ſea-Captaine, and then Priſoner in the hands of Sir *John Lenthall*, out of duty and affection to the well-fare of the Publique, informed by a Letter the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons of it, and ſent his Letter by the hands of one Mrs *Jencks*, who faithfully delivered it to him, and by her importunity to ſome that belonged to the ſaid *Speaker* for an Anſwer to it, the ſaid Captaine *Cob* was brought out of Priſon to the Houſe of Commons door, as he thought to juſtifie the ſaid Letter, who had brought along with him three or foure Witneſſes, to prove all the particulars mentioned in the ſaid Letter.

But the *Speaker*, contrary to his duty, never cauſed him to be called in, but only ſent him out word, that he ſhould goe home againe, and he would ſhortly come over to his brother Sir *Johns* Houſe, and ſpeak with him there, who accordingly did, but would admit none to be preſent to heare what paſſed amongſt them there; yet *Cob*, as ſoone as he came into the Priſon amongſt his fellows, gave unto them a true Relation, upon his Reputation, of what paſſed amongſt them, which as they averre, was to this effect; as ſoon as he came up, ſaith the Speaker, Sir doe you know me, yes ſir, ſaith *Cob*, I know you to be Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, which was the reaſon I writ to you, judging you the fitteſt man to bring to light ſo great a buſineſſe of importance, as I have to make known to you, for the good of the State and Kingdome, then the *Speaker* ſhewed him his

Letter, and asked him if he would juſtifie it, and he told him, yes, and a great deale more, if he would doe his duty, in making it truly knowne to the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

The *Speaker* turning himſelf to his Brother, ſaid, Sir *John*, if this be true, heare is enough to hang you, well Sir, ſaith Sir *John*; whereas he chargeth me of letting *Violet* goe twiſe to *Oxford*, during the time that hee and Sir *Baſſell Brooke* were contriving their Plot againſt the City; you know I never let him goe but once, and then I had your warrant for it; well, well, ſaid the Speaker, Captaine *Cob*, I ſee you are an honeſt man, and much wronged by your adverſaries, but ſhake hands and be friends with Sir *John*, and I will get you your Liberty, ſo they parted.

But Captaine *Cob* perceiving the *Speaker* did nothing in it, but indeavoured to ſmother it, ſent a true Copy of his Letters, that he had ſent to the Speaker, to Mr. *William Pendry* of *London*, with *Ellen Thomas*, her information about the threeſcore thouſand pounds of Sir *Baſſel Brookes*, that then was in Sir *Johns* hands, which Letter and Information the ſaid *Pendry* communicated to two Knights that are members of the Committee of both Kingdomes, who took no more care then the Speaker to have it brought to light, nor the 60000l. attached, and now it is upon the ſtage before the Committee of Examination, the Chaireman of which, *Juſtice Whittiker*, with Mr. *Knightly* and Sir *Robert Pye*, who is deſired to remember a Letter that was going to Don *Cottington* &c. have not dealt fairely in the buſineſſe, as both the Informers, and ſome of the 6. Citizens that were permitted into the Committe, to ſee to the managing of the buſineſſe doe declare.

And therefore aſſuredly, if ſo foule and hainous a buſineſſe as this is, be ſmothered up againe, I am very confidently perſwaded, ſome one or other will publiſh all the particulars of it (ere long) in print, to the view of all the Commons of *England*, that ſo they may ſee and judge how they are jugled with, by ſome of thoſe they have repoſed their greateſt truſt in, although Sir *Jo. Lenthall*, and the Speaker have (as it may juſtly be ſuppoſed) ſet Dr. *Baſtwick* at worke to publiſh to the view of the world the innocency of the parties accuſed, ſaying in the 8. page of his late book againſt Mr. *Lilburne*, that there is nothing made good againſt them, ſo much as with a ſeeming probabilitie, much leſſe proved, and ſo buſy and earneſt is the ſaid *Baſtwick* to defend their rotten Reputations, and their wicked and unjuſt dealings towards the State and Kingdome, that he thinks with his lies and baſe and ſordid language, to ſalve up their credits, and to baffle and juſtle the juſt and honeſt proſecuters out of their juſt wayes and pathes they tread in, to doe the Kingdome faithfull ſervice in bringing treaſon to light.

Yea, ſo bold and impudent is hee, being back'd by their Authoritie and Intereſt, that rather then truth ſhall come to light, and their wickedneſſe be diſcovered, he will lay ſuch a blot upon the *Parliament*, that will render them ridiculous to all that ſeriouſly read his Book, and conſider that the Parliaments owne Authority hath licenced him to call them Ninneys and Grols.

For ſaith he in the laſt page of his Book, *For as there is no family, though never ſo honeſt, that hath not a Whore or a Knave of their kindred, ſo it is impoſſible in ſuch a great Counſell as the Parliament is, but they ſhould have ſome Ninnyes and Groles, and men that have no more wit, then will reach from their noſe to their mouth*: It were well Dr. *Baſtwick* would doe the Common wealth that ſervice, as to name thoſe men, that ſo ſome men may begge them for fooles, to take upon them ſo high a calling, as to be Law-makers to ſo great and knowing a People, as *England* is, and to have ſo little wit in them.

Surely this Parliament will be contempteous, not onely to their foes, but alſo to their freinds, and will never ſhake off this blot while they ſit, unleſſe they call him to an account, and make him name whom he meanes, and puniſh that Licencer that durſt be ſo bould, to let ſuch a book be publiſhed *cum privilegio*, to the diſhonour of the very Parliament it ſelfe, ſurely Sir *John* and his Brother the Speaker have feed *Baſtwick* well, and are not very ſound, that they put him (their pack-horſe) upon ſuch deſperate courſes to ſalve up their credit, and he hath as little wit or honeſty in him to be ſo earneſt for Sir *John Lenthall* in particular, who is notoriouſly knowne and reputed ſo grand a Knave and Tyrant, by thouſands that know him, as *England* hath not his fellow, being at this preſent Outlawed, and hath ſo continued 3 yeers, and of whom for murder, Cruelty, Bribery and Arbitrary Government, and what not, there hath ſo many complaints been made to this preſent Parliament, (though little effect they have taken, by reaſon of the Speakers Power and Intereſt) whoſe common practiſe it is, to walke in a conſtant contempt and violation of the knowne Laws of the Kingdom, and to the making of them null, and of none effect, as much as in him lies, to the ruine and deſtruction of thouſands of the free Denizons of *England*.

For though the Law provide, that if a man in Execution eſcape or walke abroad out of Priſon, the Jaylor is lyable to pay his debt, yet for his own gaine he doth conſtantly doe both, and the undone and wronged Creditor can have no ſatisfaction of him, neither Law nor Juſtice againſt him, by reaſon of the *Speaker* his great faction in the Houſe, ſupporting of him.

Sir *John Lenthal*, beſides his Outlawries, hath dozens of executions upon him, and yet walkes abroad, and continues keeper of *Kings-Bench* Priſon, and Juſtice of Peace, and as it is reported, is Chairman of a Committee, by means of which, he is inveſted into a Power to cruſh and deſtroy every honeſt man that but opens his mouth to ſpeake of his baſeneſſe and injuſtice, the height of his injuſtice and of his Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government, ſcarcely in *Strafford* to be parralell'd, which is ſo inſupportable to the poor oppreſſed Priſoners in KingsBench; that they have got a proverbe amongſt them in theſe words;

The Lawyers rule Committees, the Speaker *rules the Lawyers*, *Sir* John Lenthall *rules the* Speaker; Thomas Dutſon *rules Sir* John Lenthall, *and the Devill rules* Dutſon.

But for all *Baſtwicks* brags of Sir *John Lenthalls* innocency, if he pleaſe to doe the State ſo much ſervice, as to prevaile with his good friend the *Speaker*, to procure the ſame Court *Marſhall* in *London* that ſate upon the *Hothams*; as ſoon as the Ordinance is paſt, hee ſhall have the names of ſome of reputation in the Kingdome, that will before that Counſell accuſe Sir *John Lenthall* of High Treaſon, and hazard the loſſe of their lives upon the proof of it.

In the laſt place, the Parliament men ſwear to be at enmitie with indifferencie or newtrallity, which newtrallitie in the *Covenant*, is branded as deteſtable by them, and yet notwithſtanding, divers of them cannot indure them that would have an end of theſe warres ſpeedily; but hate and abhorre all thoſe who with all their might indeavour the end of them: and though ſuch men walke by better principles then taking the *Covenant*, even by Principles ingraven upon on their ſoules by God himſelf: yet unleſſe they will take this (impoſſible to be kept) *Covenant*, (the framers and makers of which have runne into wilfull perjury themſelves) they muſt be turned out of Committees and their Regiments disbanded (as in Hartfordſhire, &c. and Newters put in their places, that are neither hot nor cold, nor have any other principle whereby to walke, but baſe pecuniary principles and ſelf-Interreſts, and by this meanes the Kingdome is in danger to be utterly deſtroyed, even by ſuch covetous newtrall indifferent Committie-men, and men of excellent publique principles, disfranchiſed, and undenized, contrary to the fundamentall Conſtitutions of the Kingdome, which doe allow none to be ſo dealt with, but only for an act done or committed againſt the welfare of the Publique.

And though many conſcientious men have laid out their witts, their time, their paines, their purſes, their blood; yea, and all that in this world is moſt precious to them for the preſervation of the Publique, yet they muſt not ſit in Parliament, though never ſo fit and able, unleſſe they will take this make-bate (perſecuting, ſoul-deſtroying, *Englands*-dividing, and undoing) *Covenant*; I ſhall therefore deſire all the Commons of *England*, and the Parliament themſelves, ſeriouſly to read over ſome part of their owne words, in their *Exhortation* to the taking of the *Covenant*, the words thus follow:

And as for thoſe Clergy men who pretend that they (above all others) cannot Covenant to extirpate that Government, becauſe they have (as they ſay) taken a ſolemne Oath to obey the Biſhops, in licitis & honeſtis, *they can tell if they pleaſe, that they that have ſworne obedience to the* Laws *of the Land, are not thereby prohibited from endeavouring by all lawfull meanes the abolition of thoſe lawes, when they prove inconvenient or miſchievous.*

And if there ſhould any Oath be found, unto which any Miniſters or others have entered, not warranted by the Laws of God and the Land, in this caſe they muſt teach themſelves and others, that ſuch Oathes call for Repentance, and not obſtinacie in them.

O that the Parliament would mind theſe their owne words, and give free leave to ſome of their honeſt fellow Commoners to remonſtrate the inconveniency and miſchievouſneſſe of this *Covenant*, and I am confident, it would eaſily and cleerly be made appeare to themſelves ſo vild, that they would never inforce it any more, but rather recall it again. *Judg.* 11.30. *Eſt.* 3.10. *Dan.* 3.3. *&c. Mark* 6.23.

12. Whether it be not moſt agreeable to Law, Juſtice, equitie and conſcience, and the nature of a Parliament mans place, that during the time of his being a member, hee ſhould lay aſide all places of profit in the Common-wealth, and tend only upon that function, for which he was choſen; or if he be poor, or have loſt his Eſtate, whether he ought not at preſent, to be content with his maſters wages, that is to ſay, with ſo much a day, as the Common-Wealth by the Law of the Land is to pay him for his dayes labour, which is expreſſed in 33. *H.* 8. 11. to be 4s. *per diem* to every Knight, and to every Citizen and Burgeſſe 2s. a day, or more, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed, &c. or with ſome reaſonable Competency, being the Commonwealth is grown ſo poor, that it is not able to pay her common Souldiers their 8d. a day, though they conſtantly adventer their lives to preſerve her, which the Parliament men ſeldome doe, and not to thirſt after great and rich Places, farre leſſe to poſſeſſe or enjoy them.

Seeing by woefull experience it is found, that the poſſeſſing of them breeds nothing but factions and baſe cowadlineſſe, yea and ſowing up of mens lips, that they dare not ſpeak freely for the Common-wealth, nor diſpleaſe ſuch and ſuch a faction, for feare of being Voted, and thruſt out of their unfit to be enjoyed Offices, the Common wealth hath juſt cauſe to fear they wil ſet up an intereſt of their owne, deſtructive to that common Intereſt and *F*reedome, whereof the pooreſt free man in *England* ought to be poſſeſſor, and ſo make this preſent Parliament an everlaſting Parliement, and the Warre a never ending Warre, ſeeing it tends ſo much to the inriching of Parliament men and their Officers, who have already wiſely, as they thinke, fenced themſelves with an Ordinance made the 26. of *June*, 1645. That they ſhall not be called to account for their Maſters the Common-wealths money, nor Plate that once commeth into their fingers.

Object. *But would you have thoſe Parliament men, that had their Places before the Parliament ſate, turned out of theirs?*

Yes, I would have Sir *Henry Mildmer*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Solliciter *Saint-John*, Mr. *Holland*, *&c.* turned out of their Places at preſent, though I conceive it juſt they ſhould be ſecured of the

Injoyment of them againe ſo ſoon as the Parliament is ended, for their preſent injoying thereof,ſowes but up their lippes,and makes them they dare neither ſpeake nor doe that they ſhould, and without them is hoped they would(and for avoiding the jealouſie of partiallity) I thinke there is as much Juſtice, to turne them out during the Parliaments continuing, as to turne out Mr. *Greene*, Sir *Robert Harlow*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Mr. *Reynolds*, the *Speaker*, Mr. *Prideaux*,*&c.* and all the Chancery Judges, for to me it is one of the moſt unjuſt things in the world, that the Law-makers ſhould be the Law executors, ſeeing by that meanes, if they doe never ſo much injuſtice and oppreſſion,a man may ſpend both long time,and all he hath beſides, before ever he can get any Juſtice againſt them, yea, and it may be, hazard the loſſe of his life too.

And therefore it were a great deal better for the Common-wealth, that all the executors of the Law ſhould be ſuch perſons as doe not in the leaſt belong to the Parliament, that ſo they may not be able to make any factions to ſave their Lives and Eſtates,when they doe injuſtice: and I am confident, there is never an honeſt-hearted Parliament man that meanes well to the Common-Wealth,but he will upon the debating of this needfull point, be of my minde, though it be never ſo contrary to his owne particular Intereſt and profit.

But you will ſay, This will fetch that gallant man *Cromwell* from the Army, which will be a mighty loſſe to the Kingdome,ſeeing he is ſo able and active a Souldier, and ſo extraordinarily beloved of the Officers and Souldiers in the Army, yea,and ſuch a ſtay to that unparralleld Generall, Sir *THOMAS FAIREFAX*

I anſwer,it is very true, that the Kingdome will have a mighty loſſe of him indeed, if he ſhould be taken out of the Army, and be made unſerviceable to them any where elſe; but if he come into the Houſe of Commons (that proper ſeat whereunto hee was choſen,) and doe them ten times more ſervice there,then he doth,or can doe in the Army,what loſſe hath the Common-Wealth then? Conſider ſeriouſly the grand ſervice he did the laſt Winter, when hee was in the Houſe, and ſee whether any action that ever he did in his life can be parralleld to it, and I beleeve it will be found good to have him at home: for he is ſound at the heart, and not rotten cored, hates particular and ſelfe-Intereſts, and dares freely ſpeake his minde.

Therefore home with him, as well as the reſt of Parliament-men, according to their owne Ordinance, and let him perfect what he began, and either lay *Mancheſter* flat upon his back, or himſelf, for the beſt ſervice can be done the Kingdome, is to pull out home-bred Traytors, and to helpe to keep and preſerve the *Great Counſell* aright: for if there be Twenty Armies abroad, and your Counſells be not abſolutely ſafe, ſound, and Unanimous at home, you are not ſafe, but ſtill in danger; beſides, I have heard it reported, that hee was about a deſigne of getting a Committee ſet apart, and an Order made and publiſhed to the whole Kingdome, that if any man were unjuſtly oppreſſed by any Member of Parliament, Committe-man, or any other Officers or Miniſters, let him bring his complaint, and hee ſhall have a juſt and a faire hearing, and Juſtice done not in words, but in actions upon the Tranſgreſſour.

O for ſelfe-denying *Cromwell* home againe, to ſet this on foot, which would be a ſalve for all our ſores, and would gaine the Parliament more ground in one moneth, then their forcing the *Covenant* will doe in a hundred; And if you will ſeriouſly meditate upon theſe things, you will finde there was a hidden myſtery in ſending him from the Parliament, when he had impeached *Mancheſter*, the freſh pricking of which veine againe, would cauſe good blood to grow in the body of our Common-wealth; and beſides *Cromwell* may reaſonable well be ſpared now from the Army, ſeeing there are ſo many gallant, brave, and true-hearted *Engliſhmen* there beſides himſelf, who are well knowne for their Honeſty, Parts, Valour and Souldiery to the Noble Generall: and beſides, *Cromwell*, if he were at the Houſe, might (if it were thought fit) now and then viſite the Army, to ſolder them together, if there ſhould be any disjoynted, (as I hope there will not) in which Art hee hath good skill, and unfainedly hates all factious pertaking, and baſe ſelfe-gaining.

Againe, Whether is it not agreeable to Law, Juſtice, Equity and Conſcience, ſeeing that by the 4. of *Ed*.3. 14. that there ſhould be a Parliament once every yeere, and more often, if need require, and in the 36. of E.3.10. it is inacted, That for maintenance of the Laws, and the redreſſe of divers miſchiefs and grievances, which daily happen, a Parliament ſhall be holden every yeere, as at another time was ordained by a Statute, that ſeeing this preſent Parliament, (by reaſon of the extraordinary neceſſities of the Kingdom) have ſate foure yeeres, and many of the members betray'd their truſt, and thoſe that remaine, ingroſſe Law-making, and alſo Law-executing into their own hands contrary both to reaſon, and to the true intent and meaning of the Law, which ſaith, *delayes in judgement in other Courts ſhall be redreſſed in Parliament, as alſo falſe judgements and difficult Caſes that ſhall happen, ſhall be there decided*: Read the 14. E. 3. 5.

By which manifeſt abuſing, negligent and not true uſing the Lawes, oppreſſions, miſchiefes and grievances are no leſſe (if not far more) increaſed, then they were before the Parliament began; and many times by the powerfull Intereſt of a Faction in the Parliament, to ſave ſome one, two or three of their Members, undeſerving credits; they ſo violate the known, unrepealed, and declared law of the land, yea and their owne Votes, Ordinances, Declarations and Proteſtations, as if they had never made them; I ſay, all theſe things conſidered, ought not the Free-men of *England*, who have laboured in theſe deſtroying times, both to preſerve the Parliament, and their owne native Freedoms and Birth-rights, not only to chuſe new Members, where they are wanting once every yeere, but alſo to renue and inquire once a yeere, after the behaviour and carriage of thoſe they have choſen.

And if they finde that ſince they came into the Houſe, they never made any motions for the publick good, nor ſo much as for theirs that ſent them, but doe ſit like ſo many *Ninneys* and *Groles*, that have no more wit in them, then will reach from their noſes to their mouthes, as Doctour *Baſtwick* ſaies, or have any way been unfaithfull and unſerviceable to the publique, or groundedly ſuſpected ſo to be, that then thoſe that chuſe and ſent them, may have liberty to chuſe more faithfull, able and better men in their places; for ſtanding water will ſpeedily corrupt, if it have not freſh running ſprings to feed it, though it were never ſo pure at the firſt.

Therefore I earneſtly deſire all true-hearted Free-men of *England*, to have a care in their preſent new choices, and ſeriouſly conſider, that Gallant man, Major *George Withers* advice to them in his late Book, eſpecially his 20. page, who there ſaith, *Some men* *give their voices to their freinds, ſome to their Landlords, ſome to the richeſt (and hee forſooth muſt needs be the wiſeſt) mens merits are meaſured by the aker, weighed by the pound, ſo let a Beaſt be Lord of beaſts, and poſſeſſe many acres of durt, hee ſhall be preferred to be a Parliament-man, in admiration of his wealth, and not wit: although (as* Varro *ſaith of a ſwine) he hath no more ſoule then will ſerve in ſtead of ſalt to keep his body from putrifying.*

But who thinkes upon the poor wiſe man, who as *Solomon* ſaith, *ſaved the City?* who thinks of the juſt man, whoſe integrity keeps Gods bleſſing amongſt us, and us together amongſt our ſelves? No not one; who wonders then to ſee a crooked repreſentation of a crooked Commonwealth it is no true glaſſe that caſts not a ſhadow as crooked and deformed as the ſubſtance: but above all others, have care of chuſing Lawyers, as the ſame Author in his late Poem called *Vox Pacifica*, page 183. ſaith of them; for if the Commonwealth had Peace with their profeſſed enemies; yet they will reincreaſe.

——*Your Quarrells, elſe, aſſoone as you agree:*
By their formalities, and ſlow proceeding,
Your remedy for injuries is made
A miſchief; the diſeaſe oft times exceeding;
And if ſome eye unto them be not had,
So many places in your Parliament,
They will ſupply, and fill ſo many Chaires
In your Committees; that, much detriment
Unto the Subject; and ſome cloſe impaires

Of Publique Freedomes *(e're you be aware)*
Which ſlip upon you, if you have not care.

So ſtrong a party they have alwayes had,
That your great-Charter, *which doth interdict*
Delay of Juſtice, was in that point made
(Ere ſince the Grant *) a Law without effect.*
But when their Courts, and practiſes have reach'd
Oppreſſions height; they, as the Clergie were;
Shall downe into another Orb be fetch'd,
And taught to keep a conſtant motion there:

This worke, upon ſome Court's hath been begun,
Another time, it ſhall be fully done.

And as the worthy Authour of that late ſheet of paper, called *Some Advertiſements, for the new Election of Burgeſſes for the Houſe of Commons*, ſaith in his 6. page.

Take heed how you fill up Elections with theſe kind of men (meaning Lawyers) *the Recorder of every Borough will of courſe looke to be choſen; as being the mouth of his Corporation: but it is a Cuſtome not fit for the neceſſitie of theſe times, our affaires require rather* Stateſ-men *then Lawyers*; my Reaſons againſt ſuch Elections follow:

1. *The Knowledge of the Common Law, doth no way conduce to the making of a States-man: it is a confined and topicall kind of Learning, Calculated only for the Meridian of* Weſtminſter-Hall; *and reacheth no further then* Dover. *Tranſplant a Common Lawyer to* Calice, *and his head is no more uſefull there, then a Sun-dyall in a grave: who ever heard of the Polyticks written in* Law-*French?*

2. *If the making and penning of good Lawes were the worke of theſe times (as they are not) it were not wiſedome to chuſe Mercinary Lawyers to make Lawes: becauſe they are the firſt men to invent ſubtilties to evade them, and make them uſeleſſe; and will pen them obſcurely on purpoſe to procure themſelves work in the interpretation.*

3. *Lawyers, being a bold and talketive kinde of men; will intrude themſelves into the Chaires of all Committees, where (being accuſtomed to take fees) they will under-hand protect delinquents, and their concealed Eſtates with tricks and devices.*

4. *The Reformation of Courts of Juſtice, is a worke of abſolute neceſſity, without which (though the ſword of the Lord returneth again into its ſcabbard, ſo that you have no warre yet) you ſhall have no Peace: but if you have many Lawyers, they will never ſuffer any effectuall Law to paſſe for this purpoſe: Becauſe they yet move by the corruption and delayes of the* Law, *then by the Law it ſelf:*

5. *It is neceſſary to make a Law for limitation of exorbetant fees, extortion, and prevarication (or colluſion) amongſt Lawyers, as it is uſed in other Countries.*

6. *It is neceſſary to limit the certaine number of practiſers in each Court, that they ſwarme not (like Locuſts) over the land, devouring and impoveriſhing it.*

Theſe bleſſings you will never attaine unto, unleſſe God give you the wiſedom to avoide ſuch *Elections*: lay to your hearts ſinne as well as the ſhame and ſmart, of oppreſſions and tranſgreſſions of lawyers; and you will finde that the cries of the oppreſſed have been a principall motive to draw downe Gods vengeance upon this mournfull Land.

Was ever ſo deſperate a wound given to the Lawes, Liberties and properties, as the predetermined judgement of Ship-mony. Who gave that blow? Judges. What were they? Theeves *cum privilegio Rege majeſtatis*, who bought Juſtice by whole-ſale, and ſold it by Retaile? Who aſſiſted them? Lawyers, who undertaking to pleade for their Clyants againſt it, (pretending one thing, and doing another thing) for the moſt part; and betrayed the Cauſe, all to get favour and preferrment; and yet ſuch proceedings were both againſt the Judges, and the *Coronation Oath*; upon an extrajudiciall opinion colluſively given: (for ſaith the Record) *Sacramentum Domini Regis erga populum ſuum habent ad cuſtodiendum*: But our Judges, (though more wicked) have the happineſſe to live in a more wicked age, and out-live their crimes, paying onely a ſmall part by way of fine: and enjoying the reſt of their ſtollen treaſures: and after they had made Peace as devouring as warre, and the Law as cruell as the Sword; who's that is not a better Chriſtian then theſe Brothers of the *Coyfe*, brothers in evill: will not cry out with *Epicures*, that God takes no more care what men doe on this earthly bulke, then man doth what *Ants* doe on an *Emmet-hill*; when *Verres*: (being *Conſull of Cicily*,) had pilled that *Province*, and (other *Pro-Conſulls*, and *Pro-Pretors* were puniſhed for leſſer Extortions) he laughing at their fooliſh moderation, vaunted to his Brother *Tymarkedes*: that he had got enough to buy the freindſhip of the *Senate*, and commendation, of a rich and Honourable man: So our Judges enjoy their crimes, and the prize and reward of them: Nay, they grow fatt and proſper upon the anger of God and man, whileſt this Land groanes under the full weight of the *Sword, Peſtilence*, and famine, the effects of their injuſtice: but through whoſe favour is it they have not expiated their Crimes with their blood: and waſhed away the Guilt of the Land; but the *Lawyers*? who wiſely conſider it may be their own Caſe another day.

I have ſhewed you how unſafe it is to truſt Mercinary-men with making or keeping of your Lawes; I will epitomize what I have ſaid in *Plinie's* words (*in Panegyr. ad Trajanum,*) Heretofore we were laden with our Crimes, now we are oppreſſed with our Lawes: and it is to be feared, leaſt the Common-wealth (though founded by the Lawes) be confounded by the Lawes (or rather by the Lawyers.)

Likewiſe to this purpoſe read what the Authour (reputed to be a member of the Aſſembly, as well as he that writes the *Brotherly and friendly Cenſure of Mr.* Prinnes 4. *late Queries :*) in his Antidote againſt the ſame 4. dangerous Queries, *pag*.3. ſaith, That if the thing be granted, that he diſputes, for Judges will be taught, *That they judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with them in judgement*, people will grow more peaceable and free from continuall contentions: Lawyers ſhall not get the wealth of the Land into their hands by *fiſhing in troubled waters* : incouraging men in unlawfull and quarrelous ſuites, pleading wicked Cauſes for large Fees, prolonging ſuites; and making men ſpend in long ſuite unto twiſe the value of their juſt Right, and debt for which they ſue, and by taking treeble fees, and keeping them, though they faile their Clyant, and have beene imployed at other *Barres*, when his Cauſe was to be pleaded.

Godlineſſe and *true Religion* being increaſed by faithfull Preaching and godly Diſcipline, in the hearts of men, will make the Common-wealth free from the neceſſity of many *Lawyers*, which the learned Philoſopher held to be a Plague in a State and Kingdome: and therefore it is no marvell that the corrupt ones of that Profeſſion are deadly enemies to the Maintenance, Honour, and other incouragements of the true Miniſtery of the Goſpel.

Alſo : Read what that honeſt Author (and true principl'd Common-wealths man:) of the little booke intituled, *A Helpe to the Right underſtanding of Mr.* Wil. Prynne, ſaith of Lawyers; and lay all the aforecited Authors together, and you will eaſily finde, they make it evidently appeare, that there is as little uſe of Lawyers to be in the Houſe of Commons, as there is of a Plague or Peſtilence, or of the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in the Honourable Houſe of Peeres; their Intereſt being both as Delatory, and as deſtructive to the true Peace, Proſperity and well-fare of the Common-wealth of diſtreſſed *England*: for the procuring of which, as principall helpes and meanes under the powerfull and wiſe diſpoſing Providence of the Lord *JEHOVAH*, which in his owne due time, (as *Mordecai* ſaid to *Eſther*, *Eſt.* 4. 14. and *Iſa.* 63. 3. *when all means faileth, is alone able without and beyond all meanes, to bring Salvation by his owne out-ſtretched Arme*, Yet let not us be idle or ſecure, but obſerve and indeavour theſe inſuing means for our part.

I. *By Petitioning, and by all other lawfull wayes and addreſſes, ſtrive to procure from the Parliament, and all other juſt Authority, that they (according to their duty, Oath, and Profeſſion; yea, and our truſt repoſed in them) will Adminiſter JUSTICE impartially, (according to that loud and earneſt deſire of diſtreſſed and Impriſoned Lieutenant Colonell* LILBURNE, *in that late* Letter, (*which frequently is called his,*) *and according to thoſe ſad and lamenting Expreſſions in that juſt complaining Epiſtle* (*of an* Utter Barreſter *to his ſpeciall freind,*) *called* Englands Miſery and Remedy,) *and that without turning either to the right hand, or to the left, or knowing of any Relation either to Father, Mother, Siſter, Brother, Kinſman or other; or without regarding of any Faction, either Popiſh, Epiſcopall, Presbyterian, Independant, Separate or Anabaptiſt, but Cordially to doe every one Juſtice, becauſe it is juſt: and ſeverely to puniſh all perverters of Juſtice; whoſoever they be: one Moneths doing of which, would procure the Parliament more Cordiall freinds then the fighting of all their Armies, or the forcing of all their Covenants, or the Preſſing of all their Souldiers, or perſecuting all their Sectaries will doe in ten moneths ſpace.*

II. *To endeavour to ſet the City of* London *right in the enjoyment of her Priviledges: (being the Metropolis of* England, *that ſhee may indeed be a true Preſident to all the Cities and Corporations in the Kingdome, and a ballance to all the Tyrants, or Arbytrary-principl'd men in the ſame:) the means to ſet her right, is firſt, for the Commons to get a Copy of their Charters, and tranſlate them into Engliſh, and print them, that ſo every free-man may ſee and know his own rights, and endeavour the more earneſtly the exemplary puniſhment of the infringers and incroachers thereupon.*

III. *To riſe as one man under faithfull, honeſt, experienced, conſtant, well-affected Commanders, ſuch as thoſe that riſe, ſhall chuſe to adventure their lives with, and beleager all the Kings Garriſons before the ſtorme grow ſo great in the North, that no man dare travell under paine* *of his life, according thoſe honeſt and good Directions lately printed, which are intituled,* Englands Cordiall Phyſick.

IV. *To call to a juſt and ſtrict account all Fingerers, and Receivers of money, whatſoever, even Parliament men as well as others; for they are all but the Common-wealths ſervants) and ſeverely (according to the greateſt pennalty of any declared and unrepealed Law) to puniſh all thoſe that have any wayes cheated and cozened the Common-wealth, and unjuſtly made themſelves rich by her treaſure now in the time of their great riches, and her extreame poverty; and for future time, to make a Law to puniſh with death all ſuch groſſe tranſgreſſors, who deſerve to have their skinnes flead off, and ſtopt full of ſtraw, and hung up publikely in the places where they ſo unjuſtly executed their undeſerved Offices, and deceived their owne Nation to inrich themſelves, to the terrifying of all ſuch as ſhall ſucceed them in their places, from the acting of ſuch unchriſtian, yea, and worſe then Heathen-like Roguery.*

For I am confident, that the portion of all ſuch covetous State-robbers, Nationall Fellons, mighty thieves, and ſecret Traytors will be ſuch as are deſcribed (or painted lively in their colours) throughout the Twentieth Chapter of *Job*, from the fourth Verſe, which I expreſſe here at large, and more *Scriptures* after them, for the uſe of thoſe that have no *Bibles*, to read (they are become ſo dear, and Monopolized like other things, as ſhall yet hereafter appeare,) the words are theſe.

Knoweſt not thou this of old, ſince man was placed upon the earth, that the triumphing of the wicked is ſhort, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment. Though his Excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the Clouds, yet he ſhall periſh for ever, like his owne dung: they which have ſeen him, ſhall ſay, Where is hee?

He ſhall flie away as a dreame, and ſhall not be found, yea, he ſhalbe chaſed away as a Viſion of the night, the eye alſo which ſaw him, ſhall ſee him no more, neither ſhall his Place any more behold him. His Children ſhall ſeek to pleaſe the Poore, and his hands ſhall reſtore their goods: His bones are full of the ſinne of his youth, which ſhall lie downe with him in the duſt. Though wickedneſſe be ſweet in his mouth, though hee hide it under his tongue: though he ſpare it, and forſake it not, but keep it ſtill within his mouth.

Yet his meat in his bowels is turned, it is the gall of aſpes within him: He hath ſwallowed down riches, and hee ſhall vomite them up againe, *God ſhall caſt them out of his belly : He ſhall ſuck the poyſon of Aſpes, the Vipers tongue ſhall ſlay him : He ſhall not ſee the Rivers, the floods, the brookes of honey and butter; That which he laboured for, hee ſhall reſtore, and ſhall not ſwallow it downe; according to his ſubſtance ſhall the reſtitution be, and he ſhall not rejoyce therein.*

Becauſe he hath oppreſſed, and hath forſaken the poor, becauſe he hath violently taken away an houſe which he builded not : ſurely hee ſhall not finde quietneſſe in his belly, hee ſhall not ſave of that which hee deſired.

There ſhall none of his meat be left, he ſhall be in ſtraites; every hand of the wicked ſhall come upon him : When he is about to fill his belly, God ſhall caſt the fury of his wrath upon him, and ſhall raine it upon him, while he is eating.

He ſhall flee from the iron weapon, and the bow of ſteel ſhall ſtrike him through : it is drawne, and commeth of the body : yea, the gliſtering ſword commeth out of his gall; terrours are upon him : all darkneſſe ſhall be hid in his ſecret places; a fire not blowne ſhall conſume him : it ſhall goe ill with him that is left in his Tabernable. The heaven ſhall reveale his iniquity; and the earth ſhall riſe up againſt him : the increaſe of his Houſe ſhall depart, and his goods ſhall flow away in the day of his wrath : This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and the heritage appointed unto him by God.

Conſider and apply theſe Judgements to your ſelves yee wicked *Lawyers*, (if you apprehend your ſelves to be guilty of the blood, and of grinding the faces of the poor, by your profeſſions, and eſpecially you grand *Lawyers*, (who are out of your element) in the Houſe of Commons, by your practiſes.)

And as the Pſalmiſt ſaith well of wicked men, *Pſal.* 73.5. *&c. They are not in trouble as other men, neither are they plagued like other men: their eyes ſtand out with fatnes, they have more then their heart can wiſh, they are corrupt and ſpeak wickedly concerning oppreſſion, they ſpeake fooliſhly, they ſet their mouth againſt the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth : therefore the people returne hither, and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them. And they ſay, how doth God know ? and is there knowledge in the Moſt High : Behold theſe are the ungodly, who proſper in the world, they increaſe in riches.*

But in the 18. verſe it is ſaid, *Surely thou (O Lord) didſt ſet them in ſlippery places, thou caſteſt them down into deſtruction.*

And in the 49.*Pſal.* 16. hee ſaith, *Bee not thou afraid, when one is made rich, when the glory of his houſe is increaſed, for when hee dieth, hee ſhall carry nothing away, his glory ſhall deſcend after him, &c. And in the* 50. *Pſalm.* 16, *&c.* But unto the wicked, God ſaith, *What haſt thou to doe with my ſtatutes, or that thou ſhouldeſt take my Covenant in thy mouth: ſeeing thou hateſt instruction, and caſteſt my words behind thee. When thou ſaweſt a thief, then thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been partaker with Adulterers. Thou giveſt thy mouth to evill, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou ſitteſt and ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother, thou ſlandereſt thine owne mothers ſonne. Theſe things haſt thou done, and I have kept ſilence: thou thoughteſt that I was altogether ſuch a one as thy ſelf; but I will reprove thee, and ſet them in Order before thine eyes. Now conſider this, yee that forget GOD, leſt I teare you in pieces, and there be none to deliver. Whoſo offereth praiſe, glorifieth me, and to him that ordereth his converſation aright, will I ſhew the ſalvation of God.*

But as the Prophet Jeremiah *ſaith,* chap. 23. &c. *But this people hath a revolting and rebellious heart; they are revolted and gone: neither ſay they in their heart, let us now feare the Lord, our GOD, that giveth rain, both the former and the latter in his ſeaſon, hee reſerveth unto us the very appointed weeks of the harveſt: your iniquities hath turned away theſe things, and your ſinnes have withdrawen good things from you. For among my people are found wicked men; they lay wait, as hee that layeth ſnares, they ſet a trap to catch men. As a cage is full of birds, ſo are their houſes full of deceit, therefore they are become great, and waxed rich. They are grown fat, they ſhine, yea, they overpaſſe the deeds of the wicked they judge not the cauſe, the cauſe of the fatherleſſe; yet they proſper, and the right of the needy doe they not judge.*

Shall I not viſite for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, ſhall not my ſoul be revenged on ſuch a Nation as this? A wonderfull and horrible thing is committed in the Land; the Prophets Propheſie, falſly, and the Prieſts beare rule by that means, and my people love to have it ſo, and what will yee doe in the end thereof.

But to returne to our former matter, eſpecially the grievances of the Nation; (through the miſtake of the Printer, in omitting of ſome Manuſcripts) and the abſence of the Author, when the Monopolies in the former part of this Book were expreſſed; as chiefly that ſoul-ſtarving, or murthering Monopoly, in hindering the free paſſage of the Goſpel, by extorting the prices of Bibles, which the falſe ſelf-loving Stationers, as deadly enemies to all goodneſſe, have been enterprizing a long time to obtaine, and againſt all common freedom, to engroſſe into their owne hands the ſole and only ſelling of them, by which meanes, they intend to ſell at what rates ſoever they pleaſe, though already they ſell at double the rate that honeſt wel-affected Common-wealths men may print and ſell them, and alſo be conſcionable gainers by them:

So of all Monopolies or Patents, next the monopolizing of ingroſſing the Preaching of Gods Word into the Tything and gripeing clawes of the Clergy: this is the moſt wicked and intollerable, becauſe it deprives many, both poore ſervants, and others of meane condition to buy any Bibles at all, by reaſon of the extraordinary dearth or dearneſſe of them, that thereby they might be inſtructed in the way to heaven and happineſſe, and taught their duty alſo towards their Maſters, and the Magiſtrates; whereby it is evident, that thoſe Stationers, thus enterpriſing, are ſelf-ſeekers, and as great enemies to the Common-wealth, as they are to all goodneſſe.

And beſides, they employ the Biſhops old Theeves and Roagues about their robbing affaires, as *Hunſcott* their Beadle for one, and a tall, pale-faced fellow for another, who lately with their baſe crue of robbing Partners, under pretence of Parliamentary Authority, to ſearch for dangerous Bookes, have robbed divers honeſt mens houſes in *London*, who have been the Parliaments beſt freinds and ſervants, and particularly, Lievtenant Colonell *Lilburnes* houſe, who being Priſoner in New-gate, and his wife with him, and ſhe great with Childe, & neer her time, thoſe robbers took advantage of their abſence.

And none being in the Houſe, but an old Gentle-woman at that time, whom they much frighted; as they did a young Gentle-woman in another place, to the great danger of her life (inſomuch that ſhe cryeth out in her extreame Fever, *Hunſcott, Hunſcott,*) they ranne up into the Chambers, & ſtole out of his wives Drawers, divers pieces of her Child-bed linnen and ſuch other things as they pleaſed, and refuſed to ſhew the Old-woman what they had ſtollen, though ſhee earneſtly intreated them.

And in other the Parliaments freinds houſes, under the colour of Parliamentary Authority, they at leaſt doe rob all choice old books, as well as new, upon all occaſions of ſuch grievous oppreſſions, and unexpected perſecutions.

And not only hath this baſe fellow *Hunſcott* this ſo needfull and profitable Office of Robbing, but it is reported, that hee hath alſo another as needfull and profitable, for he gathereth the Exciſe for Cattell, and Hats, &c. which with the former, is eſteemed to be worth 500l. *per annum* to him.

Oh! what a cleer demonſtration of future and intended ſlavery may be well and cleerly perceived by any (who have but halfe an eye) to begin againe among us (though after more hidden and obſcured wayes then formerly) when ſuch ſturdy Roagues, bold Robbers, ſhameleſſe covetous, and impudent Tyrants as this, or his fellows, are authorized and ſent from high Judicatories, upon ſuch ungodly & barbarous deſignes, & inhumane enterprizes, & yet found good enough alſo to be imployed in the great Affaires of the Kingdom!

Is there never a conſcientious nor honeſt man left unkilled, exiled or impriſoned, that hath the feare of God, & done good & faithfull ſervice to the State, there would be ſome colour of excuſe, that ſuch abjects and off-ſcourings of mankind ſhould be accepted, and well-deſerving worthy men quite rejected? Well, theſe are brave times for the wicked, who are advanced by the ruine of the godly, the allowed thiefe permitted to rob and deſtroy the honeſt man, the rich to rob, plunder and ſequeſtrate the poore, untill they can get no more, but when they have gotten all, and done with all what they pleaſe, it reſts only that the poore alſo, in their turne, render them the like meaſure, and finde out their Riches for the States ſervice, which all this heavy time they have ſaved, whiles poore mens eſtates have been exceedingly deſtroyed.

But as the Water-men at *Queen-hive* doe uſually cry, *Weſtward hough, hough*, ſo according to the preſent current of the times, moſt honeſt men have more then cauſe to cry in the Water-mens language, *Ægypt hough, hough, the houſe of Bondage, ſlavery, oppreſſion, taxation, heavy and cruell, heavy and cruell, wee can no longer beare it, we can no longer beare it, wee can no longer beare it; wee are as much provoked & forced to caſt off all our yoakes and croſſes from our ſhoulders (except only that of Perſecution) as ever any people or Nation, though no People or Nation under heaven have been more free, beneficiall and helpfull to thoſe whom wee intruſted to help and deliver us from Oppreſſion,* *which ſaith the* Wiſe-man, *is enough to make wiſe men mad.*

According to the Parliaments Declaration, in their own words, expreſſed on the ſecond page of this book, is it not juſtly ſaid, that if the Generall of an Army ſhould turn the mouthes of his Cannons againſt his owne Souldiers, would not that his attempt contrary to the nature of his truſt and place committed unto him, *ipſo facto*, eſtate the Army in a right of diſobedience, (even by ſtanding on their own defence, as the Parliament themſelves doe (and we alſo in helping them, or elſe where had they been, againſt the fury of the King, which *Salomon* calleth, *like the roaring of a Lion*; except wee thinke that obedience binds men to cut their owne throates, or at leaſt their companions, ſo (as they truly teach us) it is the equitie, and not the Letter of the Law, unto which wee muſt have recourſe in our greateſt neceſſity, as the Parliament themſelves were forced to doe, and ſtill doth in this their owne extremity.

But ſome will ſay, that our bondage is not yet ſo bad as that of *Ægypt* was; for all the Jewes were in great bondage under the *Egyptians*, and yet many of ours are exempted; unto that I yeeld, and doe confeſſe, that few of our great and mighty men doe either work the clay, or make the bricks; but they lay either all, or moſt part of the burthen on the poor by heavy labour, and ſweat of their browes in the heat of the day, not only in working the clay, and making of the bricks, but if they doe complaine to *Higher Powers*, upon their cruell and Tyrannous *Task-maſters*, they are ſo farre from getting any kind of Juſtice, that becauſe they moaned and complained, and groaned under ſuch heavy and grievous burdens, that they were not able any longer to beare or indure; they are further ordained (even for their complaining) to gather ſtubble too, becauſe they are ſo idle.

Innumerable inſtances there are throughout theſe three mourning and bleeding Kingdomes, to prove all theſe buſineſſes, but I will onely chuſe a Citie inſtance, and let every man who is in his profeſſion after that manner grieved and wronged, turne the ſimile home to himſelf, according to his ſmart; Though the poore Hat-makers, who earne their living with heavy and hot labour, both early and late, doe pay Exciſe both for all the materialls, and fire which they uſe, for the bread they eate, for the liquor they drinke, and clothes they weare, yet when they have made their Hatts, and done all they can with great trouble and toyle, day and night, they are forced to pay Exciſe over againe out of their very labour, notwithſtanding it was both ſo deare and heavy in buying all the neceſſaries before.

O cruell, pitifull, lamentable and intollerable Bondage, no longer to be indured, ſuffered, nor undergone, the burdens being far heavier then the poore labourers can beare; and yet the *Spirituall Task-maſters* doe gape, and roar like Lions for their prey of Tythes, alſo over, above, and beſides all, without any kinde of pitie, compaſſion or commiſeration, in theſe grievous daies of affliction.

When this Kingdom was in any way or poſſibility of ſubſiſtance, the auntient cuſtome was, that Taxations ſhould be raiſed by way of Subſidie, which is the moſt juſt, equitable, and reaſonable way of all, for it ſets every tub on its owne bottome, it layes the burthen upon the ſtrong ſhoulders of the rich, who onely are able to beare it, but ſpareth and freeth the weake ſhoulders of the poore, becauſe they are ſcarcely able to ſubſiſt, pay rent, and maintain their families.

But our new invented pay, layes the burden heavily upon the poore, and men of middle quality or condition, without all diſcretion, and ſcarcely maketh the rich touch it with one of their fingers: yea, many of them are more and more advanced in their proſperous eſtate, through the great ruines, diſtractions, and miſeries of the Kingdome, by their great ſalleries they have for executing their places, as 500l. 1000l. 1200l. and more, *per annum*, beſides all the bribes they get, and the falſe Accounts they make; So that in this life, the rich have their pleaſures, but poore *Lazarus* paines.

Seeing the Parliament ordained, that none ſhould be accepted to be a Parliament-man, that had been a Monopolizer to the Kings Counſell, and falſe Judges againſt the Liberties of the free-men of *England*, is it not as unjuſt to imploy any man in a place of Truſt, Credit, or profit now in Parliament time, that have been known to be a Monopolizer in any place or Office to or for the Parliament, to the prejudice of the Free-men of *England*?

Further it was omitted in the former part of this book, where complaint is made both of injuſtice to well-doers, and no juſtice to evill doers, that (according to the Parliaments booke of Declarations, pag. 259. and 260.) *Whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt the King in theſe*

Warres, are Traytors by the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, and have been ſo adjudged by two Acts of Parliament. 11. *Richard* 2. 1. *Hen.* 4.

And pag. 576. of the ſaid book, *It is declared by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that whereas the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſell, doth make warre againſt his Parliament and People, and for the promoting of that war, divers forces both of horſe and foot have been, and are leavied and raiſed by ſeverall perſons, and his Majeſties good Subjects are moſt cruelly robbed, ſpoiled and ſlaine.*

To the end that no man may be miſled through ignorance, the Lords and Commons in Parliament declare, that all ſuch perſons as ſhall upon any pretence whatſoever, aſſiſt his Majeſtie in this warre with Horſe, Armes, Plate or money, are Traytors to his Majeſtie, the Parliament, and the Kingdome, and ſhall be brought to condigne puniſhment for ſo high an offence.

Yea, and according to the book of Articles for Warre, *pag.* *It is enacted to be death unto any whoſoever, who holdeth Intelligence and correſpondency with the enemy.*

All which Sir *John Lenthall*, and the Speaker his Brother have done, and yet it muſt neither be proved againſt them, nor they tryed nor arraigned, but altogether excuſed, cleered, and freed, even by Vote of Parliament, and the accuſers both priſoned and arraigned for them; yea, & a Committe choſen to deviſe and inflict puniſhments againſt the Accuſers, ſo that ſtill the juſt are condemned, and the wicked abſolved.

Pſal. 9. 18, 19. *For the needy ſhall not alway be forgotten: the expectation of the poore ſhall not periſh for ever: Ariſe, O Lord, let not man prevail, let the Heathen be judged in thy ſight.* And 12. 5. *For the oppreſſions of the poor, for the ſighing of the needy, now* will I ariſe, *ſaith the LORD, I will ſet him in ſafety, from him that puffeth at him.* And 35. 10. *All my bones ſhall ſay, LORD, who is like unto thee! which delivereth the poore from him that is too ſtrong for him; yea, the poore and the needy from him that ſpoileth him?* And. 37. 14. *The wicked have drawne out the ſword, and have bent their bow, to caſt downe the poor and needy, and to ſlay ſuch as be of upright converſation.*

And 62. 9, 10. *Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie, to be laid in the ballance, they are altogether lighter then vanity. Truſt not in oppreſſion, become not vaine in robbery; if riches in-*

creaſe, ſet not your hearts upon them. And 74.19. *O deliver not the ſoul of thy Turtle Dove, unto the multitude of the wicked, forget not the Congregation of thy poore for ever.* And 82.3, 4, 5. *Defend the poore and fatherleſſe, doe juſtice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poore and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked, they know not, neither will they underſtand: they walk on in darkneſſe, all the foundations of the earth are out of courſe.*

And 92.6,7. *A bruitiſh man knoweth not, neither doth a fool underſtand this; When the wicked ſpring as the graſſe, and when all the workers of iniquity doe flouriſh, it is, that they ſhall be deſtroyed for ever.* And 118.8,9. *It is better to truſt in the Lord, then to put confidence in man. It is better to truſt in the Lord, then to put confidence in Princes.* And 146.3. *Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the ſonne of man, in whom there is no helpe.*

Iſaiah.10.1,2,3,4,5,6. *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievous things, which they have preſcribed. To turn aſide the needy from judgement, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that Widdows may be their prey, and that they may robbe the fatherleſſe. And what will ye doe in the day of Viſitation, and in the deſolation which ſhall come from farre? to whom will ye ſeek for help? and where will ye leave your glory? Without me they ſhall bow down under the Priſoners, and they ſhall fall under the ſlaine, for all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is ſtretched out ſtill. O Aſſyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the ſtaffe in their hand is mine indignation. I will ſend him againſt an hypocriticall Nation, and againſt the people of my wrath, I will give him a charge to take the ſpoile, and to take the prey, and to tread them downe like the myre in the ſtreets.*

FINIS.

The chiefe faults eſcaped in the printing, either through the Authours abſence, or the Correctours negligence.

In page 4. l. 22. read *the laſt but one of*. p. 5. l. 2. read *and that*. & l. 7. read *for the ſame*. p. 7. l. 37. r. *and juſtly* for *hence juſtly*. and read *may condemne* for *may not condemne*. p. 9. l. 20. r *of which you may*. and l. 32. r. *are culpable*. p. 10. l. 19. r. *publick* for *bublick*. p. 15. l. 18. r. *that call evill good, and good evill*. and adde to the next line, *Job* 14. 4. Who can bring a clean thing out of an uncleane? not one. read 25. 4. and *Pſalm.* 51. 5. p. 16. l. 16. r. *to priſon without cauſe ſhewed.* and l. 18. r. *to force him to commit a crime.* & l. 26. r. *and then make* for *and then to make* p. 17. l. 14. r. ſtrengthned *for* ſtreightned, l. p. 37. l. 18. r. ſuites *for* ſuite, p. 39. l. 1. r, according to thoſe, *for*, according thoſe. p. 40. l. 23. r. conſider, *for* cnſider. p. 43. l. 16. r. If there were, *for*, Is there.

THE POSTSCRIPT,

Containing divers ſentences belonging to ſeverall paſſages of this Book, which were in their due places omitted, and here at laſt remembred.

A*Dde to page 16. l. 29. So that firſt, he was committed by Order and Vote of Parliament, without cauſe ſhewed, and then ſecondly, for refuſing to anſwer upon Interrogatories to their Committee of Examinations; which is contrary,* 1. *To the Great Charter of* England. 2. *To the very words of the* Petition of Right. 3. *To the act made this preſent Parliament, for aboliſhing the* Star-chamber, 4. *To the ſolemne Oath and Proteſtation of this Kingdome.* 5. *To the great Covenant and Solemne Vow, made upon paine of eternall damnation, for uniting the two Kingdomes together.* 6. *And moſt principally of all, contrary to the infallible Rules of Gods own moſt ſacred Word, which forbids that any man ſhould anſwer upon queſtions to accuſe, condemne, and conſequently to kill and deſtroy himſelf, or that any man ſhould be condemned before he be heard. And* 7. *Contrary to all juſtice, equity, conſcience, ſenſe, reaſon, the very practiſe of the Romiſh Heathens, love, duty, brotherly affection, Chriſtianity, Reformation, Comiſeration, or Compaſſion.* 8. *Contrary to the Kingdoms great truſt, committed by their grand Commiſſion to the Parliament, for defending and improving, and no wiſe for deſtroying nor diſannulling their Liberties, and ſo alwayes for the Weale, but never for the woe of the Free-men of* England, *otherwiſe they are not only to be bidden take heed to their injuſtice, but to be called to an account, and cenſured accordingly.*

That in regard the Kingdome is in ſo pittifull and great diſtreſſe, and that the moſt and beſt things that ever this Parliament did, were firſt motioned by private men, and then authoriſed and eſtabliſhed by them: it would be excellent and needfull, if they would ordaine, that every freeman of England, *who is able, would beſtow his ſervice one yeere at leaſt, freely for the good of the Civill State, in any Place or Office of Truſt, whereof his skill and breeding doe fit him to be moſt capable, according as they ſhall be choſen, and thoſe who are not able to ſerve freely for a* *yeere, and to have competent maintenance allowed unto them, to the value of* 50.*or* 60l. *a yeere, according to their charge; if ſuch be choſen for their skill and diligence, though they want outward means: for which allowance, thoſe that are conſcienſcious, will doe as good ſervice, at leaſt, as ſome others, who have* 1000.*or* 2000. *a yeere.*

The like rule is no leſſe, but rather farre more excellent and needfull, to be obſerved and eſtabliſhed in matters concerning the Church-ſtate wherein her ſervants are to performe their duties freely, they being able to maintain themſelves, and thoſe with them, whether by means obtained formerly, or induſtry uſed daily; otherwiſe, to have the like allowance of 50.*or* 60l. *a yeere, according to their charge.*

And that the remainder of all Church-living, obtained by the ſubtilty of Antichriſt, be now wholly imployed to the ſupply of the Kingdomes manifold preſent neceſſities, and after the Warres are ended, to the payment of the Kingdoms great debts, contracted upon the publick faith.

But if in caſe, that the Clergy or any of them ſhall not be content with the aforeſaid allowance, which is ſufficient for as honeſt men, that then it might be free for thoſe whom God ſhall be pleaſed to fit with ſufficient abilities to ſupply their places freely: to the intent, it may not be ſaid of them, as of the Scribes and Phariſees, that they ſhut up the Kingdome of heaven, and will neither enter in themſelves, nor yet ſuffer thoſe that would. Matth.23.13. Luk.14.52.

In the Appendix of one of Mr. Prinnes *bokes, authorized by the Parliament, caled* The Soveraign power of Parliaments and Kingdoms, *beginning at* pag. 1. *It is manifeſted by ſundry Hiſtories & Authours, that in the ancient* Roman *Kingdome and Empire, in the* Greek *and* German *Empires, derived out of it, in the old* Grecian, Indian, Egyptian *Realmes, in the Kingdome of* France, Spaine, Italy, Hungaria, Bohemia, Denmark, Poland, Swethland, Scotland, *yea of* Judah, Iſrael, *and others mentioned in the Scripture, the ſupreame Soveraignity and Power, reſided not in the Emperours and Kings themſelves, but in their Kingdomes, Senates, Parliaments, People, who had not onely power to reſtrain, but cenſure and remove their Emperours & Princes, for their tyranny and miſ-government; Where alſo there is an anſwer to the principall Arguments to prove Kings above whole Kingdomes and Parliaments, and not queſtionable nor accountable to them, nor cenſurable by them for any exorbitant actions.*

The 4.page, 6.7.10.11.13.17.101.112.123.125.150.151.153.154.159. *are moſt excellent for deciding thoſe differences, which I referre to the juditious and courteous Reader to peruſe at his leiſure.*

FINIS. Printed Octob. 1645.

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[WILLIAM WALWYN]

ENGLANDS LAMENTABLE SLAVERIE

1645

Englands Lamentable Slaverie appeared anonymously in London, in 1645, without license, imprint or separate title-page. It bears on the last page the date, October, 1645. On the first page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason wrote, "London. 11th Octob: 1645." For evidence of Walwyn's authorship, see Appendix A. The text is here reproduced from the copy of the original edition in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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ENGLANDS LAMENTABLE SLAVERIE,

Proceeding from the Arbitrarie will, ſeveritie, and Injuſtices of Kings, Negligence, corruption, and unfaithfulneſſe of Parliaments, Coveteouſneſſe, ambition, and variableneſſe of Prieſts, and ſimplicitie, careleſneſſe, and cowardlineſſe of People.

Which ſlaverie, with the Remedie may be eaſily obſerved.

By the ſcope of a modeſt & ſmooth Letter, written by a true Lover of his Countrey and a faithfull friend to that Worthy Inſtrument of Englands Freedome, Lievten. Collonell Lilburn, *now unjuſtlie impriſoned in Newgate.*

Being commited firſt, by Order and Vote of Parliament without cauſe ſhewed, and then ſecondly for refuſing to anſwer upon Interrogatories to their Committee of Examinations, Contrarie to

1. *The Great Charter of* England.
2. *The very words of the Petition of right.*
3. *The Act made this preſent Parliament; for the aboliſhing the Star-Chamber.*
4. *The Solemne Proteſtation of this Kingdome.*
5. *And to the great Vow and Covenant for uniting the two Kingdomes together.*

The Copie of which Letter (with the Superſcription thereof) hereafter followeth.

A private Letter of publique uſe, to the conſtant maintainer of the Juſt Liberties of the People of England, Lievten. Coll. *John Lilburn* Priſoner in Newgate by command of Parliament.

SIR, London 11th Octob. 1645

ALthough there is ſome difference between you and mee in matters of Religion, yet, that hath no white abated in me, that great love and reſpect juſtly due unto you, for your conſtant zealous affection to the Common Wealth, and for your undaunted reſolution in defence of the common freedome of the People.

The craft and deluſion of thoſe that would maſter and controle the People, hath not availed (by fomenting our differences in Religion, which is their common practice) to make me judge prepoſterouſly, either of your or any other mens ſufferings.

We have a generall caution, that no man ſuffer as an evill doer; but if any ſuffer for well doing, who are they that would be thought Chriſtians, and can exempt themſelves from ſuffering with them? No certainly, it is neither pettie differences in opinions, nor perſonall frailties in ſufferers, nor both, that can acquite or excuſe us in the ſight of God. ſo we are not ſimplie to be ſpectators or beholders of them a far off (as too many doe.) but if one ſuffer, all ought to ſuffer with that one; even by having a ſympathie and fellow feeling of his miſerie; and helping to beare his burden; ſo that he may be eaſed in the day of tentation; yea and the ſentences both of abſolution and condemnation ſhall be pronounced at the great day, according to the viſiting or not viſiting of Priſoners, and hearing of their mourning, ſighs, and groanes.

This is my judgement, from whence hath iſſued this my practice, that when I heare of the ſufferings of any man, I doe not enquire, what his judgement is in Religion, nor doe I give eare to any tales or reports of any mans perſonall imperfection. (being privie to mine owne) but I preſently labour to be rightly informed of the cauſe of his ſufferings (alledged againſt him) whether that be evill or good, and of the proceedings thereupon, whether legall or illegall, juſt or unjuſt.

And this hath been my courſe and practice in things of that nature for almoſt a ſcore of yeares, whoever have been the Judges, whether Parliament, King, Counſell-board, Starre-Chamber, High Commiſſion, Kings-bench, or any Judicatory, yea whatever the accuſer, or the accuſed, the judgement or puniſhment hath been; I have taken this my juſt and neceſſary liberty; for having read, obſerved, debated, and conſidered both ancient and latter times, the variations and changes of Governments and Governors, and looking upon the preſent with an impartiall judgement, I ſtill find a neceſſity of the ſame my accuſtomed watchfullneſſe, it never being out of date; [the more my hearts griefe] for worthy and good men (nay the moſt publique ſpirited men) to ſuffer for well doing, unto whom only is promiſed the bleſſing and the heavenly Kingdome; *Mat.* 5. 10.

Your ſuffering at preſent, is become every good mans wonder; for they all univerſally conclude your faithfulneſſe and zeale to the publique weale to be ſuch, as no occaſion or tentation, could poſſibly corrupt, and the teſtimonies you have given thereof to be ſo great, as greater could not be.

They obſerve likewiſe, the large teſtimonie given of your deſerts, by your honourable and worthy Friend in the Armie, Lievten. Generall *Cromwell*.

And therefore, that you ſhould now be kept in ſafe cuſtodie, was very ſad newes to all that love you; knowing how impoſſible it was, to make you flee or ſtart aſide; but when they heard that you were ſent to that reproachfull priſon of Newgate, they were confounded with griefe.

It ſhould ſeeme, that you being queſtioned by the Committee of Examinations, ſtood upon your old guard, alledging it to be againſt your liberty, as you were a free borne Engliſhman, to anſwer to queſtions againſt your ſelfe, urging *MAGNA CHARTA* to juſtifie your ſo doing; And complaining that contrary to the ſaid Charter, you had beene divers times impriſoned by them.

Now it is not much to be wondred at, that this your carriage ſhould be very offenſive unto them; for you were not the firſt by divers, (whom I could name) that have been examined upon queſtions, tending to their own accuſation and impriſonment too, for refuſing to anſwer, but you are the firſt indeed, that ever raiſed this new doctrine of *MAGNA CHARTA*, to prove the ſame unlawfull.

Likewiſe, You are the firſt, that compareth this dealing to the crueltie of the Starre Chamber, and that produced the Vote of this Parliament againſt thoſe cruelties (ſo unjuſtly inflicted on your ſelfe by that tyrannous Court) And how could you Imagine this could be indured by a Committee of Parliament? No, moſt Parliament men are to learne what is the juſt power of a Parliament, what the Parliament may doe, and what the Parliament (it ſelfe) may not doe. It's no marvell then that others are ignorant, very good men there be; who affirme, that a Parliament being once choſen, have power over all our lives eſtates and liberties, to diſpoſe of them at their pleaſure whether for our good or hurt. All's one (ſay they) we have truſted them, and they are bound to no rules, nor bounded by any limits, but whatſoever they ſhall ordaine, binds all the people, it's paſt all diſpute, they are accountable unto none, they are above *MAGNA CHARTA* and all Lawes whatſoever, and there is no pleading of any thing againſt them.

Others there are (as good wiſe and judicious men) who affirme, that a Parliamentary authority is a power intruſted by the people (that choſe them) for their good, ſafetie, and freedome; and therefore that a Parliament cannot juſtlie doe any thing, to make the people leſſe ſafe or leſſe free, then they found them: *MAGNA CHARTA* (you muſt obſerve) is but a part of the peoples rights and liberties, being no more but what with much ſtriving and fighting, was by the blood of our Anceſtors, wreſtled out of the pawes of thoſe Kings, who by force had conquered the Nation, changed the lawes, and by ſtrong hand held them in bondage.

For though *MAGNA CHARTA* be ſo little, as leſſe could not be granted with any pretence of freedome, yet as if our Kings had repented them of that little, they alwaies ſtrove to make it leſſe, wherein very many times they had the unnaturall aſſiſtance of Parliaments to helpe them: For Sir, if we ſhould read over all the hudge volume of our Statutes, we might eaſily obſerve how miſerable Parliaments aſſembled, have ſpent moſt of their times, and wee ſhall not find one Statute made to the enlargement of that ſtreight bounds, deceitfully and improperlie called *MAGNA CHARTA*, (indeed ſo called to blind the people) but if you ſhall obſerve and marke with your pen, every particular Statute made to the abridgement of *MAGNA CHARTA*, you would make a very blotted booke, if you left any part unblotted.

Sometimes you ſhall find them very ſeriouſly imployed, about letting looſe the Kings prerogatives, then denominating what ſhould be Treaſon againſt him (though to their owne vexation and continuall danger of their lives) ſometimes enlarging the power of the Church, and then againe abridging the ſame, ſometimes deviſing puniſhments for Hereſie, and as zealous in the old groſſeſt ſuperſtitions, as in the more refined and new, but ever to the vexation of the people.

See how buſie they have been about the regulating of petty inferiour trades and exerciſes, about the ordering of hunting, who ſhould keep Deere and who ſhould not, who ſhould keep a Greayhound, and who a Pigeonhouſe, what puniſhment for Deere ſtealing, what for every Pigeon killed, contrary to law, who ſhould weare cloth of ſuch a price, who Velvet, Gold, and Silver, what wages poore Labourers ſhould have, and the like precious and rare buſineſſe, being moſt of them put on of purpoſe to divert them from the very thoughts of freedome, ſuitable to the repreſentative, body of ſo great a people.

And when by any accident or intollerable oppreſſion they were rouſed out of thoſe waking dreames, then whats the greateſt thing they ayme at? Hough wth one conſent, cry out for *MAGNA CARTA*, (like great is *Diana* of the *Epheſians*) calling that meſſe of pottage their birthright, the great inheritance of the people, the great Charter of England.

And truly, when ſo choice a people, (as one would thinke Parliaments could not faile to be) ſhall inſiſt upon ſuch inferiour things, neglecting greater matters, and be ſo unskilfull in the nature of common and juſt freedom, as to call bondage libertie, and the grants of Conquerours their Birth-rights; no marvaile ſuch a people make ſo little uſe of the greateſt advantages; and when they might have made a newer and better Charter, have falne to patching the old.

Nor are you to blame others for extolling it, that are tainted therewith your ſelfe, (ſaving only that its the beſt we have) *Magna Charta* hath been more precious in your eſteeme then it deſerveth; for it may be made good to the people, and yet in many particulars, they may remaine under intolerable oppreſſions, as I could eaſily inſtance: And if there be any neceſſity on your behalfe, it ſhall not faile (with Gods grace) to be effected, let who ſo will be offended, but if there be not a neceſſity, I conceive it better (for this preſent age) to be concealed, then any wiſe divulged.

But in this point you are very cleare, that the parliament ought to preſerve you in the Freedomes and liberties contained in *Magna Charta* at the leaſt, and they are not to permit any authority or Juriſdiction whatſoever to abridge you or any man thereof, much leſſe may they be the doers thereof themſelves: Something may be done through miſinformation, but believe it, upon conſideration, they are to make amends. *Humanum eſt errare.*

But as *Abraham* reaſoning with God, was bold to ſay to that Almighty power, Shall not the Judge of all the earth doe right? Much more may I in this your caſe be bold to ſay, ſhall not the Supreame Judicatory of the Common Wealth doe right? God forbid.

That libertie and priviledge which you claime is, as due unto you, as the ayre you breath in; for a man to be examined in criminall caſes againſt himſelfe, and to be urged to accuſe himſelfe is as unnaturall and unreaſonable, as to urge a man to kill himſelfe, for though it be not ſo high a degree of wickedneſſe, yet it is as really wicked.

And for any man to be impriſoned without cauſe declared, and witneſſed (by more then one appearing face to face) is not only unjuſt, becauſe expreſlie againſt *Magna Charta* (both of Heaven and Earth) but alſo againſt all reaſon, ſenſe, and the common Law of equitie and juſtice.

Now in ſuch caſes as theſe, no authoritie in the world can over-rule without palpable ſinne; It is not in theſe caſes as it is in other things contained in *Magna Charta*, ſuch as are the freedomes of the Church therein mentioned, for ſome doe argue that their power muſt be above *Magna Charta*, or otherwiſe they would not juſtlie alter the Government of the Church, by Arch Biſhops and Biſhops, who have their foundation in *Magna Charta*.

But ſuch are to conſider, that the Government of the Church, is a thing diſputable, and uncertaine, and was alwaies burthenſome to the people: now unto things in themſelves diſputable and uncertaine, as there is no reaſon why any man ſhould be bound expreſly to any one forme, further then his Judgement and conſcience doe agree thereunto, even ſo ought the whole Nation to be free therein even to alter and change the publique forme, as may beſt ſtand with the ſafety and freedome of the people. For the Parliament is ever at libertie to make the People more free from burthens and oppreſſions of any nature, but in things appertaining to the univerſall Rules of common equitie and juſtice, all men and all Authority in the world are bound.

This Parliament was preſerved and eſtabliſhed, by the love and affections of the people, becauſe they found themſelves in great bondage and thraldome both ſpirituall and temporall; out of both which the Parliament propoſed to deliver them in all their endeavours, at leaſt Declarations, wherin never was more aſſiſtance given by a people,

And for the firſt, it was a great thing, the exterpation of Epiſcopacie, but that meerly is not the main matter the people expected, which indeed is, that none be compelled againſt Conſcience in the worſhip of God, nor any moleſted for Conſcience ſake, the oppreſſion for Conſcience, having been the greateſt oppreſſion that ever lay upon religious people, and therefore except that be removed, the people have ſmall eaſe by removall of the Biſhops, but rather will be in greater bondage, if more and worſe ſpirituall taskmaſters be ſet over us.

Theſe were no ſmall matters alſo, their aboliſhing the High-Commiſſion, and Starre Chamber for oppreſſing the people, by impoſing the Oath Ex-Officio, and by impriſoning of men, contrary to law, equitie, and juſtice. But if the people be not totally freed from oppreſſion of the ſame nature, they have a very ſmall benefit of the takihg downe of thoſe oppreſſing Courts. Seeming goodneſſe is more dangerous then open wickedneſſe. Kind deeds are eaſily diſcerned from faire and pleaſing words. All the Art and Sophiſterie in the world, will not availe to perſwade you, that you are not in New gate, much leſſe that you are at libertie.

And what became of that common and threed-bare doctrine, that Kings were accountable only to God, what good effeects did it produce? No, they are but corrupt and dangerous flatterers, that maintaine any ſuch fond opinions concerning either Kings or Parliaments.

What prejudice is it to any in any authority, meaning well, to be accountable, for indeed and truth all are accountable, and it is but vaine, (if not prejudiciall) for any to thinke otherwiſe. Doth any man entruſt, and not looke for juſtice and good dealing from him he truſts.

And if he find him through weakeneſſe or wickedneſſe doing the contrary, will he forbeare to ſet him right (if he can.) Can he ſit downe ſilently with injurie or prejudice? I could judge thoſe people very neare to bondage, (if not to ruine) that could be brought to beleeve it, there be many inſtances both Forraigne and Domeſtick, which yet I forbeare to expreſſe.

The greateſt ſafety will be found in open and univerſall juſtice, who relyeth on any other, will be deceived, Remember therefore (ſaith God) whence thou art falne and repent, and doe the firſt workes, or elſe I will come quickly, and will remove thy Candle ſticke out of his place. March not ſo ſwiftly ye mighty ones, one ſingle honeſt hearted man alone oftimes by unpleaſing importunity, not only ſtayes, but ſaves a whole Army from inevitable dangers, for better is wiſedome then weapons of warre *Eccleſiaſtes* 9. 18. Timely mementoes and cautions to adviſed and modeſt men (howſoever uttered) are never without good effect. If godly *David* made ſome good uſe even of raſh *Simeis* railing, then what happie uſe may the godly minded make of any faithfull mans words, which tend altogether, to juſtice, equitie, and reaſon?

Nor can I imagine any evill is now intended towards you, for your faithfull and plaine dealings, except by ſome few, and thoſe inſtigated by one only, who (by his great ſucceſſe, in getting out Mr. *Henry Martine*, that juſt and zealous Patriot of his Countrey, and ſome other prevalencies) hath ſwolne ſo big with confidence, of greater matters, that he thinkes *Lilburns* blood the next meat Sacrifice for *Oxford*, ſo that what the King could not doe to him (as one of the Parliaments beſt friends) when he was cloſe Priſoner there, the Parliament themſelves muſt endeavour to doe to him in his unjuſt priſonment here,

The Poyſon of Aſps is under that wicked mans tongue, with which he laboureth alwaies to poyſon Scripture, (mixing it figuratively) in his diſcourſe to corrupt, ſiniſter, and unworthy ends, whoſe malice and hypocriſie (doubtleſſe) will ere long diſcover him to all men.

And (I doubt not) but that ſame God that tooke a happie courſe with *Haman*, and delivered *Mordicai* and all his people, will in your greateſt neceſſity and his fitteſt opportunity, fight againſt all your enemies, and deliver both you and all yours out of all your afflictions, at leaſt, ſo to mitigate and ſweeten them by ſupporting you under them, or rather bearing of them with you,) that they ſhall prove to be exceeding joyes and conſolations, to you and all that love you.

The honeſt and plaine men of England in diſpite of that mans mallice, ſhall be your Judges, and will ſpread forth in order (like King *Ezekias* letter) both before God and their owne conſciences, what a world of injuries and miſeries you (betweene 20. and 30. yeares of age ſcarcely to be paraleld any where in this age) have with great fidelity, magnanimitie, and conſtancie undergone, in the diſcharge of your conſcience, and defence of the liberties of your native Countrey, and will not ſuffer a haire of your head to be touched, nor any reproach to be ſtucke upon your good name, but you ſhall live and be an honour to your Nation in the hearts of all honeſt and well affected men, which ſhall ever be the hearty deſire of me.

Your faithfull Friend.

The Printer to the Reader.

THere is here a copie of an excellent letter, which comming to my hands, by the carefull meanes of a worthy friend, who is a Wel-willer both to his Countreys priviledges, and to thoſe few who either ſtand for them, or for the truth, have thought it my dutie not to ſmother nor obſcure ſuch a needfull Epiſtle' but rather (as times are) to maniſeſt it to the world, according as it came entituled to me, namely, *A Private letter of publique uſe*: Whereby it may appeare now in theſe dangerous dayes, both how the States and Clergie of this Kingdome have pittifully abuſed the people, even our ancient prediceſſors for many ages, both in Church and Common wealth.

First, In bringing them with a high hand, under heavie thraldome and great bondage, and then keeping them in lamentable ſlaverie for many hundreds of yeares, as ſtill their Succeſſors the States men and Clergie of our dayes, doe with all their policie and machinations; and what deſignes they cannot thereby bring to paſſe, they endeavour by all poſſible meanes (whether directly or indirectly) even by open violence, without ſhewing any juſt cauſe, and yet all under the colour of lawes, when in the meane time they were called together, ſworne, intruſted and commanded, both to rectifie whatſever wicked decrees, Popiſh Cannons, Arbitrary, corrupt, or defective Lawes, their prediceſſors in the dayes of groſſe ignorance and palpable darkneſſe, did eſtabliſh.

Howſoeuer, the body of the Letter doth not ſpecifie in plaine tearmes, what the title painteth out in lively colours, yet thou being judicious and induſtrious, may eaſily enough perceive the ſame by the full ſcope, true intent and meaning thereof, intimated to thy underſtanding, under the Authors modeſt and loving expreſſions, to this worthy inſtrument of Englands delivery, Lievten. Collonell *Lilburn*, that he may ſee more cleerly. then (it may be) he did formerly, both how far ſhort even thoſe which we call our beſt lawes, commeth of the marke of perfection, juſtice, integrity, and reaſon, that the worthyes of Parliament, according to their duty unto the peoqle, and the peoples due at their hands, may not only reforme what is amiſſe (and that now whiles they profeſſe reformation) but likewiſe carrie that dutyfull reſpect unto him, as one of their moſt truſty ſervants, and that according to the degree, nature, and eminencie of all his faithfull ſervices, and cruell ſufferings, and that ſuch others, (though there be few) may be rather encouraged to perſiſt, then any wiſe being ſo rewarded, to deſiſt. Fare you well.

COurteous Reader, I deſire thee to read a late Printed Booke intituled, *Englands birthright juſtified, againſt all Arbitrary uſurpation, whether* Regall *or* Parliamentary, *or under what Vizar ſoever.*

Printed *October*, 1645. *FINIS.*

WILLIAM WALWYN

A WHISPER IN THE EARE OF MR. THOMAS EDWARDS MINISTER

1646

A Whisper in the Eare of Mr. Thomas Edwards appeared in London, without separate title-page, in 1646. On the verso of the last page appears the imprint, "London, Printed according to Order, by Thomas Paine, for William Ley, at Paules-Chaine, 1646." On the first page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, March 13, 1645 [1646]. For the connection between Walwyn and Paine, see Appendix A. The text is here reproduced from a copy in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, collated with a photostatic print of the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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A VVHISPER IN THE EARE of Mr. *Thomas Edwards* Miniſter.

By

VVilliam VValwyn Marchant.

Occaſioned by his mentioning of him reproachfully, in his late pernitious booke, juſtly entituled the *Gangræna*.

Micah. 7. 2.

The good man is periſhed out of the earth, and there is none righteous among men: they all lie in wait for blood: every man hunteth his brother with a net.

SIR, Your extream fury in driving on a work wherein no charitable well minded Chriſtian takes any comfort, but rather an abundance of griefe, hath made me to conclude, that you are quite deaf on the right chriſtian eare; deaf to all that is good: a man (I fear) altogether without Conſcience, or ſence of goodneſſe: and that you have the uſe of hearing only on the left ſide of *Machiavilian* policy: juſt as *Demetrius* the ſilverſmith, that oppoſed not the doctrine of *Chriſt* out of zeale to the Goddeſſe *Diana* as he pretended: nor out of any hatred to that doctrine, but as it tended to the loſſe of his craft and gain: even ſo you, (as I verily fear) do not indeavour to make odious the ſeverall doctrines and practices of conſcienſcious people, out of true zeal to any thing you apprehend as truth; or out of hatred to any thing you apprehend as error: but becauſe the doctrines and practices of thoſe you term independants,

A Brow-

Browniſts, Anapaptiſts, Antinomians, and Seekers: do all tend to the loſſe of your craft, and gain: in that they all diſallow of tythes, as ceremonious and popiſh, and all contracted for, or enforced maintenance for miniſters under the Goſpel, as diſagreeing to the rule thereof: nay you have further cauſe againſt them, for they ſpoile you not onely of your gaine, but of your glory and domination, things dearer to you then your life: of your glory, in denying your miniſtry to be ſucceſſive from the Apoſtles: of your domination, by denying unto you any more authority to judge of doctrines or diſcipline, then any other ſort of Chriſtian men: and to ſpeak truly, theſe are ſore temptations to ſuch worldly minds as yours, who in your hopes had made your ſelves ſure of the greateſt part of all that was taken from the Prelats, and thereby of a foundation of advancing the honour, and ſplendour, and power, and profit of the Clergy once more in this Nation: It is confeſt that ſuch provocations as theſe have not onely produced ſuch reviling accuſations, as you bring againſt conſcientious well minded people, but a ſubverſion of the calumniators: as it befell the late Prelates, whoſe railing, reviling, and moleſting of the harmeleſſe faithfull puritan, under pretence of heriſie, ſchiſme, faction, ſedition, and the like, being all contrary to every mans knowledge and experience of them: the iſſue was, the utter extirpation of their calumniators: and that ſo lately, as might be a warning to you, and ſuch politique worldly men as you are; but that it is (through the wiſdom and juſtice of God) the fate of policy and politique men not to be warned by other mens judgements, but to truſt ſo much to the ſtrength of their braines, that they fear not to trace thoſe very ſteps that gradatim brought the laſt Arch-biſhop to the block, making no conſcience of vexing, diſgraceing, and undoing of any man, nay thouſands of men and families, ſtanding twixt them and their unjuſt ends: and this too ſo madly and raſhly, as to make themſelves adverſaries of ſuch, as really aimed at their good, and to preſerve them from thoſe precipitations their folly and malice labours to haſten. And this is your caſe with me, for I am confident and well aſſured, that amongſt all thoſe whom in this your frantick booke you have named, there is not one that oppoſed your waies more out of love, and ſeriouſly for your good, then I have done: for what ever you through want of an experimentall knowledge of me, or upon miſ-report may judge of me, I am one that do truly and heartily love all mankind, it being the unfeigned deſire of my ſoul, that all men might be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, it is my extream grief that any man is afflicted, moleſted, or puniſhed, and cannot but moſt earneſtly wiſh, that all occaſion were taken away : there is no man weake, but I would ſtrengthen; nor ignorant, but I would informe: nor erronious, but I would rectifie, nor vicious, but I would reclaim, nor cruel, but I would moderate and reduce to clemency: I am as much grieved that any man ſhould be ſo unhappy as to be cruel or unjuſt, as that any man ſhould ſuffer by cruelty or injuſtice: and if I could I would preſerve from both; and however I am miſtaken, it is from this diſpoſition in me, that I have engaged my ſelf in any publick affairs, and from no other, which my manner of proceeding in every particular buſines wherein I have in any meaſure appeared, will ſufficiently evince, to all that have without partiallity obſerved me: I never propoſed any man for my enemy, but injuſtice, oppreſſion, innovation, arbitrary power, and cruelty, where ever I found them. I ever oppoſed my ſelf againſt them; but ſo, as to deſtroy the evil, but to preſerve the perſon: and therefore all the war I have made (other then what my voluntary and neceſſary contribution hath maintained, which I wiſh ten thouſand times more then my ability, ſo really am I affected with the Parliaments iuſt cauſe for the common freedom of this Nation) I ſay all the war I have made, hath been to get victory on the underſtandings of men: accompting it a more worthy and profitable labour to beget friends to the cauſe I loved, rather then to moleſt mens perſons, or confiſcate eſtates: and how many true and thorow converts have been made through my endeavours: you tempt me to boaſt, were I addicted to ſuch a vanity, or were I not better pleaſed with the conſcience of ſo doing. Before this Parliament I was of full years to be ſenſible of the oppreſſion of the times, being now forty five years of age, having accuſtomed my ſelf to all kinds of good reading, and to the conſideration of all things; but ſo, as for a long time I took not boldneſſe to iudge, but upon the approbation of ſome authors and teachers that had captivated my underſtanding both in things morall, politique, and religious: in the laſt of which, being very ſerious and ſincere in my application of things to my own conſcience, my grounds being bad, though much applauded, I found much diſconſolation therein, great uncertainty, and at laſt extream affliction of mind, the law and Goſpel fighting for victory in me, in which conflict, the Scriptures were taken in more ſingly, and void of gloſſe, to my aſſiſtance, by the cleare light whereof, I ſaw the enemies I feared vanquiſhed, which wrought a real thankfulnes in me towards *Chriſt*, which increaſed with the increaſings of faith: inſomuch as I ſet my ſelf daily more and more to do his will: and that in a more publick way then formerly: Whereupon an occaſion being offered by this honourable Parliament, our miniſter and pariſh (*James Garlick-hill London*) being quite out of order: I, with others, moved for reformation, in doing whereof, how I laboured to have preſerved the continuance and well being of our miniſter: himſelf, and the ancient that oppoſed our endeavours, I preſume will teſtifie, but if they ſhould not, there is enow that will, but he was a man that truſted to policy, which in the end failed him: our next indeavours were for the whole ward, wherein after much labour, we ſo prevailed, that the well affected carryed the choice of Alderman and common-councell men, and all other officers in the Ward: my next publike buſineſſe was with many others, in a remonſtrance to the Common Councell, to move the Parliament to confirm certain infallible maximes of free Government: wherein the power of Parliament was plainly diſtinguiſhed from the Kings Office, ſo plainly, that had it taken effect: few men after due conſideration thereof, would through error of judgement have taken part againſt the Parliament, or have befriended arbitrary power, as too too many did for want of light: but it was ſtifled in the birth. I was alſo interreſſed in all the proceedings of *Salters* hall, whence much good iſſued to the whole City and Kingdom; where (I beleeve it will be teſtified by all, I was never heard or obſerved to propoſe or ſecond a bad motion, nor far ſhort of any in proſecution of any thing that was good: and when the common enemy was at the higheſt, and the Parliaments forces at the loweſt, I with many others petitioned the Parliament for the generall raiſing and arming of all the well affected in the Kingdom, and though that alſo took not its proper effect, and came not to perfection: yet it mated the common enemy, and ſet all wheels at work at home, was the ſpring of more powerfull motions and good ſucceſſes: God ſo ordering things that no man moves for good, but good in one kind or other comes thereof: and in all that I have at any time done, I ever aſſociated my ſelf with perſons of known good affections to Parliament and Common-wealth: that it is my extream wonder that any well-affected perſon ſhould affirm me to be a man dangerous: I have never ſhunned the light, all that I have had a hand in hath come to the publick view and touch, and truly there hath not been a juſt thing promoted or endeavoured to be promoted, that ever I was abſent from, if I had a call thereunto. and whereas I have addicted my ſelfe to know and underſtand all the ſeverall doctrines and waies of worſhip that are extant, and for that end have taken liberty to hear and to obſerve all: it is that I might be able to iudge rightly of their differences, to vindicate them when they are wronged: and to adviſe them for their good: in doing whereof, I have gained much good, there being not any (how light eſteeme ſoever you make of them) but have ſomthing worthy the obſervation: and this I muſt teſtify for all ſorts of them, they are a people the moſt ready to render love for love, that ever I met withall: and not apt to render evil for evil: they are all univerſally faithfull to the Parliament, friends to all juſt government, and enemies to all unjuſt: but yet there is not any thing I have obſerved that hath prevailed with me to diſclaim the publike miniſtry, or the parochial congregations & I have yet ſome hopes to ſee them reduced into ſuch a condition, as that all things thereunto belonging, may without difficulty be juſtified: but though I am not in fellowſhip with thoſe good people you call ſectaries, yet I joyn heart and hand with them in any thing that I judge to be right: and tending to the publike good: and love them as heartily as thoſe that are one with me in iudgement: ſometimes I conteſt with them ſomewhat vehemently in arguing, but it is as I conceive for truth, and for their good: and they take it ſo, and bear with me as I with them: and we meet and part in love, as becometh Chriſtians. nor doth this hinder, but that when any difference befalleth betweene them and the publick miniſters, but that I iudge as clearly in ſuch caſes, as if I had no difference with them, for I eſteem it a high part of true religion to promote common iuſtice: and not to be a reſpecter of perſons in iudgement, wherein the Scripture is my rule: and that being on their ſide, I ſhould take part with them therein againſt my father, miniſter, or the deareſt friend I have in the world: and from hence it is, that when the queſtion is about liberty of Conſcience, the Scripture tells me, every one ought to be fully perſwaded in his own mind, and that whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin: it tells me I muſt doe as I would be done unto: I would not be enforced to the Pariſh Congregations, then I muſt not force them to them, or from their owne: God onely perſwades the heart: compulſion and enforcement may make a confuſed maſſe of diſſembling hypocrites, not a Congregation of beleevers, that ſeeing our Saviour reproached not thoſe that denyed the reſurrection, angels and ſpirits, nay *Joh.* 12. 47. 48. &c. he ſaith plainly (and that by authority from heaven, v 49.) *He that refuſeth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that iudgeth him: the word that I have ſpoken, it ſhall iudge him in the laſt day.* Alſo in *Luke* the 9. 54. 55. 56. Inſomuch as I ſee no more warrant now to reproach or puniſh any man for Religion, but rather that we are all bound in peace and love to reclaime our brother from what wee iudge an error in his way: wherein the beſt and moſt knowing amongſt men in our daies, may be miſtaken; being all liable to take truth for error, and error for truth, and therefore there is no cauſe of ſtrife or compulſion, except for maſtery: then which (as I conceive) nothing is more unchriſtian, nevertheleſſe I may ſee a neceſſary uſe of a publick miniſtry, and pariſh Congregations, and it is my work to perſwade others therein, and not to ſpeak reproachfully thereof, as they would not have their way reproached: but then when the queſtion is concerning a maintenance for theſe publick miniſters: and that any ſhall inſiſt for tythes, or an enforced maintenance, truly in this caſe the Scripture manifeſting to my underſtanding, tythes to be ceremoniall and Jewiſh, and ſo to ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt: and that to enforce or enioyn a maintenance though under any other notion, is as I apprehend contrary to the rule and practice of the Apoſtles, how is it poſſible but I muſt adhere to them therein: but then that our publick miniſters ſhould have no maintenance, therein I wholy diſſent, and as it hath been my endeavour to aſſiſt the one party to avoid the moleſtation of their conſciences in tythes, & all enforced contributions, ſo have I often propoſed a way for the maintenance of the publick miniſters, more certain, more quiet for themſelves, and leſſe irkſome to the people, leſſe diſturbant to the Common-wealth: aud thus you may ſee how through miſ-information: you have taken me for an enimy, that have alwaies approved my ſelf your reall friend in all things I apprehended iuſt: and thus you may ſee how dangerous a man I have been that in all theſe publick differences have done no man hurt by word or deed: nay at all the meetings I have frequented, whether at Salters hall, the wind mill, or elſe where, I never heard any man named reproachfully, but I openly ſhewed the unfitnes thereof: alwaies adviſing that if any man had ought againſt any particular perſon, that he ſhould make it known to thoſe that by law had aright to take notice thereof, and that we ſhould be very cautious in thinking evil of any man upon report and hearſay, eſpecially of any in authority: The truth is, I have been and am of opinion, that it is not good for the Common-wealth, that the miniſters ſhould have any power or iuriſdiction put into their hands, or that it were good for the miniſters themſelves, the ſame having ſo often proved their ruine, and the diſturbance of the people, but do conceive it more ſafe for them, and more for the quiet of the people, that they be freed from all other employments, except preaching and adminiſtring the publick worſhip of God, according as the Parliament ſhall ordain, for I look upon you as miniſters ordained by the State, and ſo are to do as they conceive is moſt agreeable to the word of God, and moſt beneficiall to the generallity of the people: in ſetling whereof, you may adviſe, but are not to urge or be importunate for more power then they ſee good, and it leſſe beſeems you to grow paſſionate; and to move others to be importunate, and by preaching and printing to labour to make their faithfull friends odious unto them, and to magnifie your deſires, above their own intentions, and ſo to beget emulations and parties, threaten iudgements and deſertions, and turning the ſcriptures againſt them and all others that oppoſe or fulfill not your will, as if they were oppoſers of the will of God, which you take upon you to know, with the ſame confidence as the biſhops and prelates did, and in the very ſame manner, and application of Scripture. No interpretation was good but theirs, no miniſters the miniſters of Chriſt, but whom they ordeyned by impoſition of hands, no government, diſcipline, or worſhip, agreeable to the Scriptures, but theirs, no opinion ſound, but what they allowed, all were ſectaries and hereticks, whom they pleaſed ſo to denominate: thoſe that oppoſed them were ſeditious: diſturbers of the peace, a viperous brood, enemies to the ſtate, and ſubverters of all order and government, and by all means to be extirpated: if any pleaded conſcience, they conclude them obſtinate, and thus it is with you expreſſy, ſo as Mr. *Edwards* his *Gangræna*, is indeed but a new edition of Prelaticall doctrine, with ſome additions appliable to the preſent times, and his Clergies immediate intereſt: but truſt me, this is extreamly preiudiciall to your party, for there is no moderate Presbyterian that can excuſe this, and hath beene a hindrance to me in arguing for a publick miniſtry, beſides you ſoar ſo high in daring expreſſions, as if you preſumed upon ſome other way of obtaining your deſires, then by allowance of Parliament, which may looſe you many friends there, and occaſion them to think they have through a miſtaken compaſſion, ſoſtered a frozen ſnake in their boſomes, that no ſooner finds

often

heat and ſtrength, but falls into his ſerpentine hiſſing, and ſtinging his preſerver, you have alſo loſt many of your friends abroad, by this unchriſtian nominating men and women in your *Gangræna*, and many more you will looſe, when they ſhall conſider that you have not taken the known Goſpel way of firſt admoniſhing of them, but upon bare report, as it were to poſt them reproachfully to the view of the world, they cannot deem this as the proceeding of a miniſter of Chriſt, but rather as a violent haſt to do your owne work: truſt me, *I* cannot but impute the great abatement of your ſect, the falling from you of ſo many judicious perſons, and the daily great increaſe of othes ſects, to no one thing more, then to your inconſiderate raſhnes, violent railing, and adventuring on unheard of waies to compaſſe your ends, for when *I* have prevailed with ſome (through debate and argument) to come to our publike Churches, and to hear your ſermons, they have found there ſuch abundance of paſſion, ſweat, and labour, not to beget children unto Chriſt, by preaching the ſincere Goſpel of Chriſt, but to revile and reproach, and make odious conſcientious well affected people, becauſe of difference in judgement, whereby they have been much diſcouraged from frequenting thoſe places, affirming that all the accuſations you bring againſt others, are expreſly and viſibly due to your ſelves if but indifferently weighed: as where you charge others with pride, ambition, covetuouſnes, effeminacy, obſtinacy, cruelty, delicacy of pallate, and the like; they have demanded of me with a poſitive vehemency, whether theſe were not to be found in you, rather then in thoſe you have condemned for thoſe vices, blaming me very much for going about to excuſe the ſame, inſomuch as *I* verily beleeve, you have no enemy like your ſelf, and am perſwaded if you would forſake all corrupt intereſts, and would conſcienſciouſly ſet your ſelfe to do the worke of Chriſt, to labour in his word and Goſpel, out of a pure mind, and not for filthy lucre, if you would make it evident by your actions, that you ſeek not ours, but to win us to God, that you would thereby prevaile more in one halfe year towards your owne comfortable eſtabliſhment, then you ſhall in an age by all your by-waies and policies, therefore leave them, and betake your ſelf to the work of Chriſt, whilſt it is called to day: the night of ignorance *I* preſume is paſt with you: O that truth and this my plain dealing might beget or awaken Conſcience in you, and provoke you to caſt of the works of darknes, and to put on the armour of light, and henceforth to walk honeſtly, and not in ſtrife and envying, but to walk in love as Chriſt hath loved nor is it meet you ſhould eſteeme your ſelf a Chriſtian, untill you find your ſoul poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of true Chriſtian love, which doth no evil to his neighbour, and therefore is the fullfilling of the Law. What though you could prevail (as you endeavour) to work the ruine of all that oppoſe your judgement or ends? Would it be peace in the latter end? no, aſſure your ſelf it would be a ſulphurious bitterneſſe and horror of conſcience, and therefore ſit downe and ſeriouſly conſider what you are reſolved to do, weigh your intentions in the even ſcales of love, touch and prove them with the touch-ſtone of love, if you would be eſteemed a diſciple of Chriſt, it muſt bee knowne by love: now love ſuffereth long, and is kind; boaſteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up, doth not behave it ſelfe unſeemly, ſeeketh not her owne, is not provoked to anger, it thinketh not evil, it rejoyceth not in iniquity, but rejoyceth in the truth: beareth all things, beleeveth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, this is that I would ever whiſper in your ear, this being a balſame that often, and well rub'd in, may Cure your *Gangran*, and though at firſt your diſtemper may cauſe you to loath it, yet take a little and a little of it, uſe inwardly and outwardly, conſtantly, and you will find your diſpoſition to alter and change from one degree unto another, until you come to be a ſtrong and healthfull Chriſtian: of *Saul* a perſecutor, you will become *Paul* a preacher of peace and reconciliation by Jeſus Chriſt, and bee able to lay down your life for thoſe Brethren you have ſo much diſpiſed: then will you do as you would be done unto, and in all things diſputable allow every one to be fully perſwaded in their own minds, and then you will bee ſencible, that *whatſoever is not of faith is ſinne*: you will acknowledge it is God only that can perſwade the heart, and (doing your duty) patiently waite his leiſure for the converſion of your Brethren: the ſame mind and meeknes will bee in you, as was in Chriſt Jeſus, and you will be mercifull as our heavenly Father is mercifull: you will not break the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoaking flax; then you will ſee what pure religion and undefiled before God, even the Father, is: you will feed the hungry, cloath the naked, viſit the ſick, relieve the priſoner, deliver the captive, and ſet the oppreſſed free, eſpecially the oppreſſed for Conſcience ſake: you will then ſee error in judgement or miſapprehenſion in worſhip, to bee but a mote in your brothers eye, compared to a perſecuting or moleſting, or the reproaching beame in your owne: in a word, would you ſeriouſly ſet your ſelfe to the ſtuddy and practice of love, you wou'd againe fill your Churches, and without the help of Jewiſh Tythes, or any unchriſtian or forced maintenance, preaching the Goſpel, would live comfortably of the Goſpel and draw all men after you.

As for thoſe blemiſhes you labour by your *Gangreen* to ſtick upon mee, I beleeve your labour will be loſt, except in the opinion of ſuch as know me not: but to acquit my ſelfe farther, and to free them from prejudice, to what I have ſaid I add thus much more.

In your *96.* page, you have me in theſe uncharitable expreſſions, one Mr. *Walwyn* a ſeeker, and a dangerous man, a ſtrong head: truely in the mind you were in, when you wrote this *Gangreen*, I am heartily glad I appeared not worthy of your Commendations, certainly you have been extreamly covetous of informations, you ſeeme to have ſuckt them in with greedineſſe, and ſwallowed them without chewing; tis pitty an evil intent ſhould be better ſerved; your informations to my knowledge of many particulars as that of Mr. *Lilburnes* and others, and my ſelf, have been ſuch to you, as if they had been made of purpoſe to ſhame you to all the world, I a ſeeker, good now; whoſe your author? Am I one becauſe I know many, and have been amongſt them often, that I might know them fully; ſo have I been with all other judgements, but I carry with mee in all places a *T*ouch-ſtone that tryeth all things, and labours to hold nothing but what upon plain grounds appeareth good and uſefull: I abandon all nicities and uſeleſſe things: my manner is in all diſputes reaſonings and diſcourſes, to enquire what is the uſe: and if I find it not very materiall, I abandon it, there are plain uſefull doctrines ſufficient to give peace to my mind: direction and comfort to my life: and to draw all men to a conſideration of things evidently uſefull, hath been a ſpeciall cauſe that I have applyed my ſelfe in a friendly manner unto all: but hence it is that ſome have ſaid I am a great Annabaptiſt, others (upon as good ground) a great Antinomian: and you a ſeeker: miſtake me not, I do not eſteeme theſe as names of reproach, no more then to be called Presbyterian or Independent; nor doe J take upon me peremptorily to determine what is truth, and what is error, amongſt any of them: all have a poſſibility of error: I judge all Conſcienſcious, and to hold their ſeverall judgements upon grounds of ſcripture: to them appearing, and ſo long cannot but hold them: and why any ſhould controule another, I cannot diſcerne: had I all the power or ſtrength in the World at my diſpoſing, in caſes of religion I conceive I ſhould ſinne, if *I* ſhould do more then in a loving way offer my argument, and gently perſwade to what *I* conceive is both evidently true, and really uſefull: and thus have *I* done amongſt thoſe my loving friends, whom you judge ſeekers: for though I do fully aſſent with them that now in theſe times there is no ſuch miniſtry as the Apoſtles were, endowed with immediate power from on high, by impoſition of whoſe hands, the Holy Ghoſt was conferred, enabling to ſpeak with tongues, and do miracles, in a moſt wonderfull manner, and to ſpeake to all men, the infallible word of God: and that convincingly to the Conſciences of gain-ſayers: yet am I not thereby of opinion that we may not make uſe of thoſe things they have left unto us in the ſcriptures of the mind and will of God; or that it is not profitable to follow their examples ſo far as we are able in all things, for what though the effects are now weake, in compariſon of theirs, yet are they ſuch as bring great ſatisfaction with them: I have often perſwaded with them that they ſhould not reject what they may with much comfort make uſe of, becauſe they cannot find what they ſeek, & for ought I know are not like to find in this world: ſee now what a ſeeker you have found of me: I once heard you at Chriſt-Church, which few ſeekers will do, but never but once, for I was not ſo blind a ſeeker, as to ſeek for Grapes of thornes, or Figgs of thiſtles: and why *I* pray you a dangerous man? indeed, by ſome reall dangerous men, I have been accounted ſo, ſome whereof are falne into the ſnare they laid for all the well affected in this City; but that ever I was accounted ſo by any that converſed with me, that was a knowing well-affected man, I do not beleeve, and I beleeve I could produce thouſands of knowing well-affected perſons, that if they heare I am engaged, and doe appeare in any publick buſineſſe, though they know no tittle thereof, will adventure odds; it is both juſt and neceſſary, and therefore you incline me to beleeve that you labour for beliefe onely amongſt the weake, ignorant, raſh, or ill affected people, with whom Credit and repute is not worth the having: well, your laſt appellation you beſtow upon me is a ſtrong head, and what would you have underſtood by this? Would you have your diſciples ſtand aloof and not dare to hold diſcourſe with me, leſt I ſhould open your deſignes, and make it appeare how much it concerns your corrupt interreſt to keep their heads in ignorance and a ſuperſtitious weakneſſe: is it becauſe I know whoſe maxim, this is *Ruſtica gens, optima Flens, peſſima ridens*: Is it becauſe my hearing is ſo good as not to bee perverted by Gloſing doctrines, or becauſe my ſmelling ſerves my turne to ſmell a Fox, or Wolfe, though in Sheeps clothing, or is my ſeeing ſo ſtrong that it diſpels the magick miſts of ſophiſticated art: or is it becauſe my taſte diſcerneth the brackiſhneſſe of flattery, from the pure ſweetneſſe of plain dealing: or do you mean head ſtrong, becauſe I am not likely nor could ever be drawn to dance after your Pipe.

Doubtleſſe theſe are the cauſes that any ſtrong head troubles you; nevertheleſſe, as ſtrong as it is, you ſee a ſmall knock from your hard hand hath ſo opened it, that I can hardly ſhut it again, but Ile ſhut it preſently, onely thus much, I cannot ſee how authority can paſſe over this unparaleld uſe of the preſſe which you have taken, to name in publike ſo many of their faithfull adherents in ſo reproachfull a manner, to tax their proceedings in the proceedings of their Committees, to affirme and declare to all the world, that the victorious ſucceſſes of the Parliaments forces, is but the increaſe of errors and heriſies, that ſectaries of all ſorts get places of profit and power, and be the men all in requeſt for offices and employments: in the which, you make your ſelf the iudge of what is error and heriſie, and who is a ſectary: in all which you are as likely to be miſtaken as any man: for none are ſuch in your calender, but ſuch (as at firſt I told you) who ſtand twixt you and your profit, glory and domination: ſo as a man may be a reall good Chriſtian, and a moſt cordiall friend to the Parliament, and nevertheleſſe be exploded by you for a ſectary, or an heretick: one thing more, you, and ſuch as you are (if you be not changed ſince you wrote your *Gangræna*, as I heartily wiſh you were) doe extreamly abuſe this Nation, in laying the main weight of the reformation (intended) upon the reduceing of mens judgements and practice in Religion to union and uniformity, whereas the main weight of all reſteth, in extirpating the popiſh prelaticall ſpirit of perſecution and moleſtation for conſcience, as the main thing that oppreſſed all ſorts of conſcientious people before the Parliament, and ſince; and that which cannot fail to diſturbe and vex any nation where it remaineth, but the truth is, without it you cannot keep your ſelf aloft: without it you cannot compell a maintenance: diſtinguiſh a Clergy, nor have power over mens perſons by their conſciences, but grant you the power you deſire, and you are maſter of all, and then ſee who dares open his mouth, or move his pen in this argument: your preſent confidence proceeds from the miſt you have raiſed, but it is not yet thick enough, nor will our engliſh braynes prove ſo muddy as to afford matter for thickning, I beleeve and hope it is now at thickeſt, and when your hopes are greateſt, you will find your ſelf in a fogge: to hold men in ignorance or bondage is not a work either for honeſt men or good Chriſtians, but abhorred by both, and beleeve it, truth is become too ſtrong to admit of either in this age: and we truſt the honourable Parliament that are choſen to preſerve us from both, will not fail to preſerve us, though you ſhould do the worſt you can, and whereas you commend them to the love of God and his truth, and the hating of all ſects and ſchiſmes, I in all humility and true love to all that honour God, and deſire the welfare of England, do moſt heartily pray, that they may hate all perſecuting ſects with a perfect hatred: all enforcing and compulſive ſchiſmaticks, as the onely cauſe of all trouble and diſtraction.

To conclude, If you be ſo ill as your word, and bring forth ſuch evill fruit once every month, and that we whoſe names you have blaſted, can find a licencer, (as we hope we ſhall) that will do but ſo much for Chriſt, as yours hath done for *B.* We ſhall I doubt not, find a new way of innocculation, and produce grapes out of your thorns, and figges out of your thiſtles, and fetch abundance of good out of your evil: but more happy will it be for you if you repent, (once a month ſhall I ſay) once every houre, and in token thereof, uſe your uttermoſt indeavour to promote this or the like petition to the honourable Parliament, whereby you will make ſome amends for the evill you have done by this your book.

Humbly ſheweth,

THat as with all thankfulnes we acknowledge your unwearied labours to remove the grievances and dangers of the Common wealth, ſo are we exceedingly grieved to obſerve the manifold unexpected difficulties which at ſeverall times have obſtructed your proceedings, amongſt which we conceive the differences in Religion to be the greateſt, and of moſt importance.

In your conſiderations whereof, being an affair of ſo tender a nature, ſo apt to be miſ-underſtood, and ſuch as hath miſcarried in all former Parliaments, to the great diſturbance of this Nation, and to the great affliction of conſcientious people, we humbly conceive you have not in any thing ſhewed greater regard to the glory of God or greater care of the welfare of the people, then in proceeding therein with ſo cautions and adviſed a deliberation: giving time and opportunity to your wiſedoms, rightly to underſtand the word of God in that point which moſt concerneth tender conſciences, to hear, try and examine all that can or may be ſaid or writ thereof, and we truſt you will in the end produce that which ſhall be agreeable to the will and mind of God, and to the quiet of all wel-affected people.

And although your progreſſe therein hath not been with ſo much ſpeed, or ſuch ſeverity towards tender Conſciences, as ſome importunely have deſired, yet have we good cauſe to beleeve that you have been guided thorein by the good hand of God, who in due time will (we doubt not) bring you to ſuch an iſſue, as neither your ſelves, nor any others (well minded) ſhall have cauſe to repent, or ever to alter.

And therefore we moſt earneſtly intreat that you will not through any importunity be induced to haſten your proceedings in this weighty cauſe (wherein the leaſt error may prove very prejudiciall) beyond what upon your mature deliberation ſhall appeare to be juſt and neceſſary: there being as we humbly conceive, no greater breach of the priviledge or abatement of the power of Parliament, then for any to do more then humbly to informe or adviſe you in this, or any other negotiation.

Bleſſed be God though the differences are many in point of judgement throughout your quarters, as they have been alwaies throughout the world, and will be ſo long as knowledge is imperfect: yet being amongſt conſcionable, quiet, well-affected people, they are not properly to be called diviſions, *And though we cannot but fear there are ſome wicked Polititians that endeavour by all means to make them ſuch, and thereby to diſtemper and diſtract all your undertakings, and to make the ſame advantagious to their unjuſt ends , yet are we confident (through Gods protection) their endeavours ſhall be fruitleſſe (except to draw confuſion on themſelves) God having bleſſed the people in generall with a cooler ſpirit, and greater wiſdom, then by dividing among themſelves , or not adhering unto you , to become a prey to any enemy ; and hath produced univerſally in them, as in us your humble Petitioners, a reſolution to defend the juſt power and priviledge of this honourable Houſe, againſt all deluſion or oppoſition whatſoever, to the laſt penny of our eſtates, or laſt drop of our bloods, beſeeching you to go on with the ſame caution and godly reſolution, to perfect thoſe juſt works you have undertaken, according as God ſhall direct you, both for the manner and the ſeaſon : for his way is beſt, and his time moſt ſeaſonable.*

And as in duty bound, we ſhall ever pray, &c.

To conclude, if you ſhall do this conſcionably and effectually, I am confident henceforward you will not be able to do any thing againſt the truth, but for the truth which is the unfeigned deſire of him who cannot but earneſtly deſire your reformation, and eternall happineſſe:

William Walwyn.

FINIS.

LONDON,
Printed according to Order, by *Thomas Paine*, for *VVilliam Ley*, at *Paules-Chaine*,
1646.

A PREDICTION OF MR. EDWARDS HIS CONVERSION, AND RECANTATION

1646

A Prediction of Mr. Edwards his Conversion appeared in 1646. "T. P." is no doubt the printer, Thomas Paine, for whom see Appendix A. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, August 11. For John Bachiler, whose imprimatur appears on the verso of the last page, see Appendix B. The text is here reproduced from the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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A PREDICTION OF Mr. EDWARDS HIS CONVERSION, and Recantation.

By

WILLIAM WALWIN.

LONDON.
Printed by *T. P.* for *G. Whittington*
and *N. Brookes*, at the ſigne of the
Angell in Cornhill, belw the
Aug: 11th. Exchange. 1646.

A PREDICTION OF MASTER EDWARDS HIS CONVERSION and Recantation.

THere hath of late ſo much labour, and ſo many good diſcourſes beene beſtowed upon Mr. *Edwards*, and with ſo pious and good intentions, that it is not to be ſuppoſed, ſo many precious endevours can be vaine or fruitleſſe, in reference to his converſion.

In caſes ſo deſperate as his, the worſt ſignes are the beſt; as wee uſe to ſay, when things are at the worſt, they are neareſt to an amendment.

To an impartiall judgement, that ſeriouſly conſiders the violence of his ſpirit, maniſeſted againſt harmeleſſe, well-meaning people, that differ with him in judgement:

He cannot but ſeeme, at beſt, in that wretched condition, that *Paul* was in, when hee breathed out threatnings and ſlaughter, againſt the diſciples of the Lord; and went unto the High Prieſt, and deſired of him letters to *Damaſcus*, to the Synagogues, that if he found any of *this way*, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jeruſalem.

For certainly, had not Authority, in theſe our times, being endowed with much more true Chriſtian wiſdome then ſuch teachers, and through the power thereof, had not reſtrained the bitterneſſe of his (and the like) ſpirits; we had had (before this time) multitudes of both men and women, brought from all parts of this Nation, bound, unto *London*, if not burned in Smithfield.

But many there are, that feare, his condition is much more ſad, and deſperate, then this of *Pauls*, (which yet the bleſſed Apoſtle was much troubled to thinke on, long after his converſion, accompting himſelfe as one borne out of due time, and not worthy the name of an Apoſtle, *becauſe he perſecuted the Church of God.*) It being exceedingly feared that in all his unchriſtian writings, preachings, and endevours, to provoke Authority againſt conſcientious people, that therein

he goeth againſt the light of his owne conſcience, that he is properly an Heretique, one that is ſubverted and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelfe.

And indeed, who ever ſhall conſider, the exceeding Light that hath been darted from ſo many Seraphick Quills, ſhining round about him; amidſt his perſecuting intentions, (all which he hath hitherto reſiſted) will find and confeſſe; there is cauſe to feare: So great a ſhining and a burning light, that it cannot be doubted, but that hee diſcerneth, how unreaſonable a thing it is, that one erring man ſhould compell or comptroule another mans practice, *in things ſupernaturall*: or that any lawes ſhould be made for puniſhing *of miſ-apprehentions therein*, wherein thouſands are as liable to be miſtaken; as one ſingle perſon.

He muſt needs know, that, only things naturall and rationall are properly ſubject unto government: And that things ſupernaturall, ſuch as in Religion are diſtinguiſhed by the title of things divine; ſuch, as the benefit and uſe thereof, could never have beene perceived by the light of nature and reaſon: that ſuch things are not liable to any compulſive government, but that therein every one ought to be fully perſwaded in their owne minds; becauſe *whatſoever is not of faith is ſinne.*

He cannot be ignorant, how diſputable all the parts of Divinity are amongſt the moſt learned, how then can he judge it ſo horrible a thing as he ſeemes to doe, for men to differ, though upon the higheſt points: he knowes every one is bound to try all things, the unlearned as well as the learned: now if there be different underſtandings, ſome weaker and ſome ſtronger, (as there are) how is it poſſible but there will (upon every tryall) be difference in degrees of apprehenſions: and ſurely he will not ſay that weakneſſe of underſtanding is ſinfull where there is due endevour after knowledge: and though it ſhould be ſinfull in the ſight of a pure God, yet will he not ſay it is puniſhable, by impure and erronious man: But,

To rayle revile, reproch, backbite. ſlander, or to deſpiſe men and women, for their weakneſſes: their meanes of trades and callings, or poverty, is ſo evidently againſt the rule of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that he cannot but condemne himſelfe herein: his underſtanding is ſo great, and he is ſo well read in Scripture, that he muſt needs acknowledge, theſe cannot ſtand with *Love*: that

that knowne and undiſputable Rule.

Inſomuch, as if bad ſignes in ſo deſperate a caſe as his is, are the beſt, ſurely he is not farre from his recovery and converſion.

With God there is mercy; his mercyes are above all his workes. his delight is in ſhewing mercy: and the Apoſtle tells us *where ſinne hath abounded grace* (or love) *hath ſuper-abounded*: O that he would ſtand ſtill a while, and conſider the love of Chriſt, that he would throw by his imbittered pen, lock himſelfe cloſe in his ſtudy, draw his curteines, and ſit downe but two houres, and ſeriouſly, ſadly, and ſearchingly lay to heart, the things he hath ſaid and done, againſt a people whom he knoweth, deſire to honour God: and withal to bear in mind the infinite mercy of God, *that where ſin hath abounded, grace hath over abounded*: certainly it could not but work him into the greateſt and moſt burning extremity that ever poor perplexed man was in, ſuch an extremity as generally proves Gods opportunity, to caſt his aboundant grace ſo plentifully into the diſtreſſed ſoule, as in an inſtant burnes and conſumes all earthly paſſions, and corrupt affections, and in ſtead thereof fills the ſoule with love, which inſtantly refineth and

Changeth the worſt of men, into the beſt of men.

May this be the happy end of his unhappy labours: it is the hearty deſire of thoſe whom he hath hitherto hated, and moſt diſpitefully uſed; (nothing is to hard for God) it will occaſion joy in Heaven, and both joy and peace in earth, you ſhal then ſee him a man compoſed of all thoſe opinions he hath ſo much reviled: an Independent: ſo far as to allow every man to be fully perſwaded in his owne mind, and to moleſt no man for worſhiping God according to his conſcience.

A Browniſt: ſo far, as to ſeparate from all thoſe that preach for filthy lucre: An Anabaptiſt: ſo far, at leaſt, as to be rebaptiſed in a floud of his owne true repentant teares: A ſeeker: in ſeeking occaſion, how to doe good unto all men, without reſpect of perſons or opinions: he will be wholly incorporate into the Family of love, of true Chriſtian love, that covereth a multitude of evils: that ſuffereth long, and is kind, envieth not, vanteth not it ſelfe, is not puffed up, doth not behave it ſelfe unſeemly, ſeeketh not her owne, is not eaſily provoked &c. And then: you may expect him to breake forth and publiſh to the world, this or the like recantation.

Where

Where have I been! Into what ſtrange and uncouth pathes have I run my ſelf! I have long time walked in the counſell of the ungodly, ſtood in the way of ſinners, and too too long ſate in the ſeat of the ſcornful!

O vile man, what have I done? Abominable it is!

O wretched man, how have I ſinned againſt God! It ſhameth me: It repenteth me: My ſpirit is confounded within me.

I have committed evils, of a new and unparalelled nature, ſuch as the Proteſtant Religion in all after-ages wil be ſhamed of. For I have publiſhed in print to the view of all men the names of divers godly well affected perſons, and reproached them as grand Impoſtors, Blaſphemers, Heretiques and Schiſmatiques, without ever ſpeaking with them my ſelfe.

And though I am conſcious to my ſelfe, of many weakneſſes, and much error, and cannot deny, but I may be miſtaken in thoſe things, wherein, at preſent I am very confident, yet have I moſt preſumptuouſly and arrogantly, aſſumed to my ſelfe, a power of judging, and cenſuring all judgements, opinions and wayes of worſhip (except my owne) to bee either damnable, hereticall, ſchiſmaticall, or dangerous: And though I

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have ſeene and condemned the evill of it in the Biſhops and Prelates, yet (as they) have I reviled & reproached them, under the common nick-names of Browniſts, Independents, Anabaptiſts, Antinomians, Seekers, and the like:) of purpoſe to make them odious to Authority, and all ſorts of men: whereby I have wrought very much trouble to many of them, in all parts throughout this Nation; and have cauſed great diſaffection in Families, Cities and Countries, for difference in judgement, (which I ought not to have done) Irritating and provoking one againſt an other, to the diſſolving of all civill and naturall relations, and as much as in me lay, inciting and animating to the extirpation and utter ruine one of another, in ſo much as the whole Land (by my unhappy meanes, more then any others) is become a Nation of quarrels, diſtractions, and diviſions, our Cities, Cities of ſtrife, ſlander, and backbiting; by occaſion whereof, both our counſell and ſtrength faileth, and all the godly party in the Land, are now more liable to abuſe and danger, whether they are Presbyterians, Independents, or others, then they have been ſince the beginning of this Parliament; though many of them are ſo blinded by my writings and diſcourſes,

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and ſo perverted in their underſtandings, that they cannot diſcerne it: And wherefore I have done all this, O Lord God thou knoweſt, and I tremble to remember, for I have done it out of the pride and vanity of my owne mind, out of diſdaine, that plaine unlearned men ſhould ſeeke for knowledge any other way then as they are directed by us that are learned; out of baſe feare, if they ſhould fall to teach one another, that wee ſhould loſe our honour, and be no longer eſteemed as Gods Clergy, or Miniſters *Jure divino*; or that we ſhould loſe our domination in being ſole judges of doctrine and diſcipline, whereby our predeceſſours have over ruled States and Kingdomes.

O laſtly, that we ſhould loſe our profits and plentious maintenance by Tithes, offerings, &c. which our predeceſſours (the Clergie) for many ages have enjoyed as their proper right, and not at the good-will of the owners, or the donation of humane authority: All this I ſaw comming in with that liberty, which plaine men tooke, to try and examine all things; and therefore being overcome with ſelfe-reſpect, and not being able to withſtand ſo ſtrong temptations, being alſo then filled with a kind of knowledge that puffeth up: I betooke my ſelfe to that unhappy worke, to make all men odious, that either directly, or by conſequence, did any thing towards the ſubverſion of our glory, power, or profit.

In doing whereof, what wayes and means I have taken for intelligence: What treachery, inhumanity, and breach of hoſpitality, I have countenanced and encouraged; my conſcience too ſadly tels me, and my unhappy bookes (if duly weighed) will to my ſhame diſcover.

The moſt knowing, judicious, underſtanding men that oppoſed me, or my intereſt, I knew were thoſe, that did and could moſt prejudice our cauſe; and therefore I ſet my ſelfe againſt them in a more ſpeciall manner, labouring by any meanes to make them odious to all ſocieties, that ſo they might not be credited in any thing they ſpake.

The truth is: In this my perverſe and ſad condition, whilſt I ſtood for maintenance of my corrupt intereſt, it was impoſſible for me, truly to love a judicious or an enquiring man: I loved none, but ſuperſtitious or ignorant people, for with ſuch I could perſwade, and over ſuch I could bear rule: ſuch would pay whatſoever I demanded, and do

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whatever I required: they ſpake as I ſpake, commended what I approved, & reproached, as I reproached: I could make them run point-blanck againſt Authority, or fly in the face of any man, for theſe took me really for one of Gods Clergie, admired my parts and learning, as gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and beleeved my erring Sermons to be the very word of God; willingly ſubmitted their conſciences and religion to my guidance.

Whilſt (as indeed it is) an underſtanding enquiring man, ſtudious in the Scriptures, inſtantly diſcerneth me to be but as other laymen, and findeth our learning to be but like other things that are the effects of ſtudy and induſtry, and that our preachings are like any other mens diſcourſes, liable to errours and miſtakings, and are not the very Word of God, but our apprehenſions drawne from the Word.

I confeſſe now moſt willingly to my owne ſhame, that there was nothing which I conceived effectuall, to work upon the ſuperſtitious or ignorant, but I made uſe thereof as the Prelats had don before me, yea I ſtrictly obſerved order in ſuch things as few men conſider, & yet are very powerful in the minds of many; as the wearing of my Cloak of at leaſt a Clergy-mans length, my Hat of a due breadth and bigneſſe, both for brim and crown, ſomewhat different from lay men, my band alſo of a peculiar ſtraine, and and my clothes *all black*, I would not have worne a coloured ſute at any rate, that I thought enough to betray all, nor any trimming on my black, as being unſutable to a *Divines* habit.

I had a care to be ſadder in countenance and more ſollemne in diſcourſe becauſe it was the cuſtom of a Clergy man, this I did though I knew very well the Apoſtles of Chriſt, uſed no ſuch vaine diſtinctions, but being not indeed unlike other men, through any endowments from on high, or power of miracles, and yet reſolving to maintayn a diſtinction, (being unable to do it by any thing ſubſtantiall, I) concluded it muſt be done (as it long time had been, both in the Romiſh and Prelatique Church) even by vain and Fantaſtick diſtinctions, ſuch as clothes and other formalities; and though I knew full well, that God was no reſpecter of perſons, and that he made not choiſe of the great, or learned men of the world, to be his Prophets and publiſhers of the Goſpell:

but

but Heardſ-men, Fiſher-men Tent-makers Toll-gatherers, &c. and that our Bleſſed Saviour thought it no diſparagement to be reputed the Sonne of a Carpenter: yet have I moſt unworthily reviled and reproached, divers ſorts of honeſt Tradeſmen, and other vſefull laborious people, for endevouring to preach and to inſtruct thoſe that willingly would be inſtructed by them, tearming them illiterate Mechanicks, Heriticks, and Sciſmaticks, meerly becauſe I would not have my ſuperſtitious friends, to give any eare or regard unto them.

And for theſe reſpects, have I magnified our publique Churches or meeting places, and reproached and cryed out upon all preachings in private houſes, calling them conventicles and uſing all endevours, to make all ſuch private meetings liable to that Statute that was enacted, and provided to reſtraine and avoyd all ſecret plottings againſt the civill government, when in the meane time I knew the ſcriptures plainly ſhewed, both by the precepts and practices of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, that all places are indifferent, whether in the mountaine or in the fields, on the water,

ter, in the ſhip, or on the ſhore, in the Synagogues or privat houſes, in an upper or lowroome; all is one, *they went preaching the Goſpell from houſe to houſe. Not in Ieruſalem, nor in this mountaine, but in every place he that lifteth up pure hands is accepted. Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there* (ſaith our Saviour) *I will be in the midſt of them,* all this I knew: yet, becauſe the ſuperſtitious were (through long cuſtom) zealous of the publique places, I applyed my ſelfe therein, to their humors and my owne ends, and did what I could to make allother places odious and ridiculous: though now I ſeriouſly acknowledge, that a plaine diſcreet man in a privat houſe, or field, in his ordinary apparell, ſpeaking to plaine people (like himſelfe) ſuch things as he conceiveth requiſit for their knowledge, out of the word of God, doth as much (if not more) reſemble the way of Chriſt and the manner of the Apoſtles, as a learned man in a carved pulpet, in his neate and black formalities, in a ſtately, high, and ſtone-built Church, ſpeaking to an audience, much more glorious and richly clad, then moſt Chriſtians mentioned in the Scriptures: and may be as acceptable. I have moſt miſera-

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bly deluded the world therein, and thoſe moſt with whom I have beene moſt familiar, and have thereby drawne off their thoughts from a conſideration of ſuch things as tended to love, peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, to ſuch things as tended neither to their owne good nor the good, of others. I have beene wiſe in my own eyes, and deſpiſed others, but I muſt abandon all, I muſt become a foole that I may bee wiſe, hitherto I have promoted a meere *Clergy Religion*, but true Chriſtian religion; pure religion and undefiled I have utterly neglected: I have wreſted the covenant from its naturall and proper meaning; to make uſe thereof for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a Church government, as would maintaine the power of the Clergy diſtinct from and above the power of Parliaments, and ſuch as would have given full power to ſuppreſſe and cruſh all our oppoſers, but I now bleſſe God, the wiſdom of Parliament diſcerned and prevented it.

I have been too too cruel and hard hearted againſt men for erors in religion, or *knowledge ſupernaturall*, though I my ſelfe have no infallible ſpirit to diſcern between truth and erors, yea though I have ſeene them ſo

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zealous &conſcientious in their judgments (as to be ready to give up their lives for the truth thereof, yet have I (as the Biſhops were wont) argued them of obſtinacy, and in ſtead of taking a chriſtian-like way to convert them, have without mercy cenſured, ſome of them worthy of impriſonment, and ſome of death, but I would not be ſo uſed, nor have I done therein as I would be done unto my ſelfe.

I have beene a great reſpecter of perſons, for outward reſpects, the man in Fine rayment, and with the gold ring, I have ever prefered whilſt the poore and needy have beene low in my eſteeme.

I have too much loved greetings in the market place, and the uppermoſt places at feaſts, and to be called Rabby.

And to fill up the meaſure of my iniquity: I have had no compaſſion on tender conſciences, but have wrought them all the trouble cruelty and miſery I could, and had done much more but that through the goodneſſe of God, the preſent authority was too juſt and pious to ſecond my unchriſtian endevours: My mercifull Saviour would not breake the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoking flax, but my hard heart hath done

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it. O that I had not quenched, that I had not reſiſted the Spirit, what fruit have I of thoſe things whereof I am now aſhamed; O how fowle I am, and filthy, yea how naked and all uncovered, my hidden ſinne lyes open, I ſee it, and the ſhame of it, and how fowle it is; and the ſight of it grieveth and exceedingly troubleth me. I would faine hide my ſelfe from mine owne ſinne, but cannot; it purſueth me, it cleaveth unto me, it ſtands ever before me and I am made to poſſeſſe my ſinne, though it be grievous and loathſome and abominable and filthy, above all that I can ſpeake, what ſhall I doe? whither ſhall I fly? who can deliver me from this body of death? my ſpirit is ſo wounded I am not able to beare: Can there be mercy for me? can there be balme for my wounded ſpirit, that never had compaſſion on a tender conſcience? my caſe is ſad and miſerable, but there is balme in Gilead: with God there is mercy: with him is plenteous redemption, I will therefore goe to my Father and ſay unto him, Father I have ſinned againſt Heaven and againſt thee, I am not worthy to be called thy child, make me as one of thine hired ſervants, I will faithfully apply my ſelfe to thy will, and to the ſtudy of thy Commandements, yea I will both ſtudy and put in practice thy new commandement, which is love, I will redeem the time I have miſpent: love will help me, for God is love, the love of Chriſt will conſtraine me, through love I ſhall be enabled to doe all things, ſhould I not love him that hath loved me, and ſhewed mercy unto me, for ſo many thouſand ſinnes, ſhall not his kindneſſe beget kindneſſe in me, yes love hath filled me with love, ſo let me eate, and ſo let me drinke, for ever, love is good and ſeeketh the good of all men, it helpeth and hurteth not, it bleſſeth, it teacheth, it feedeth, it clotheth, it delivereth the captive, & ſetteth the oppreſſed free; it breakes not the bruſed reed, nor quencheth the ſmokeing flaxe, farewell for ever all old things, as pride envy coveteouſneſſe reviling, and the like, and welcome love, that maketh all things new, even ſo let love poſſeſſe me, let love dwell in me, and me in love, and when I have finiſhed my dayes in peace, and my yeares in reſt, I ſhall reſt in peace, and I ſhall dwell with love, that have dwelt in love.

May

May his meditations hence-forward, and his latter end, be like unto this, or more exellent and Heavenly, which is all the harme I wiſh unto him, as haveing through Gods mercy, in ſome meaſure, learned that worthy and Heavenly leſſon of my Saviour, *But I ſay unto you, love your enemies &c.* and may all that love the Lord Ieſus, increaſe therein.

FINIS.

[RICHARD OVERTON]

A REMONSTRANCE OF MANY THOUSAND CITIZENS

1646

A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens appeared anonymously in London in 1646, without license or imprint. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason wrote "July 7th London." Thomason's copy has the frontispiece portrait of John Lilburne. A copy in the library of the Union Theological Seminary and two copies in the British Museum lack the frontispiece. One of the additional copies in the British Museum appears to be of another printing. The present tract was plainly written by the same hand that wrote the several other tracts acknowledged by, or attributed to, Overton (see Volume I, pages 95 ff.). Pease's statement (*Leveller Movement,* 153 n.) that any attempt to determine the authorship of *A Remonstrance* must be a mere guess is overcautious. The text is here reproduced from a copy in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, collated with a photostatic print of the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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A
REMONSTRANCE
OF
Many Thouſand Citizens, and other Free-born
PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
To their owne Houſe of
COMMONS.

Occaſioned through the Illegall and Barbarous Impriſonments
of that Famous and Worthy Sufferer for his Countries
Freedoms, Lievtenant Col.

JOHN LILBURNE.

Wherein their juſt Demands in behalfe of themſelves and the whole Kingdome, concerning their Publike Safety, Peace and Freedome, is Expreſs'd; calling thoſe their Commiſſioners in Parliament *to an Account, how they (ſince the beginning of their Seſſion, to this preſent) have diſcharged their Duties to the Univerſallity of the People, their Soveraigne* LORD, *from whom their Power and Strength is derived, and by whom (* ad bene placitum,) *it is continued.*

Printed in the Yeer. 1646.

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A
REMONSTRANCE
OF
Many Thouſand Citizens, *and other* Free-borne *People of* England, *to their owne Houſe of COMMONS.*

WEE are well aſſured, yet cannot forget, that the cauſe of our chooſing you to be *Parliament-men*, was to deliver us from all kind of Bondage, and to preſerve the Common-wealth in Peace and Happineſſe: For effecting whereof, we poſſeſſed you with the ſame Power that was in our ſelves, to have done the ſame; For wee might juſtly have done it our ſelves without you, if we had thought it convenient; chooſing you [as Perſons whom wee thought fitly quallified, and Faithfull,] for avoiding ſome inconveniences.

But ye are to remember, this was only of us but a Power of truſt, [which is ever revokable, and cannot be otherwiſe,] and to be imployed to no other end, then our owne well-being: Nor did wee chooſe you to continue our Truſt's longer, then the knowne eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this Commonly-wealth will juſtly permit, and that could be but for one yeere at the moſt: for by our Law, a Parliament is to be called once every yeere, and oftner (if need be,) as ye well know. Wee are your Principalls, and you our Agents; it is a Truth which you cannot but acknowledge: For if you or any other ſhall aſſume, or exerciſe any Power, that is not derived from our Truſt and choice thereunto, that Power is no leſſe then uſurpation and an Oppreſſion, from which wee expect to be freed, in whomſoever we finde it; it being altogether inconſiſtent with the nature of *juſt Freedome*, which yee alſo very well underſtand.

The Hiſtory of our Fore-fathers ſince they were Conquered by the *Normans*, doth manifeſt that this Nation hath been held in bondage all along ever ſince by the policies and force of the Officers of Truſt in the Common-wealth, amongſt whom, wee always eſteemed Kings the chiefeſt: and what (in much of the former-time) was done by warre, and by impoveriſhing of the People, to make them ſlaves, and to hold them in bondage, our latter Princes have endeavoured to effect, by giving eaſe and wealth unto the People, but withall, corrupting their underſtanding, by infuſing falſe Principles concerning Kings, and Government, and Parliaments, and Freedoms; and alſo uſing all meanes to corrupt and vitiate the manners of the youth, and ſtrongeſt prop and ſupport of the People, the Gentry.

It is wonderfull, that the failings of former Kings, to bring our Fore-fathers into bondage, together with the trouble and danger that ſome of them drew upon themſelves and their Poſterity, by thoſe their unjuſt endevours, had not wrought in our latter Kings a reſolution to rely on, and truſt only to Juſtice and ſquare dealing with the the People, eſpecially conſidering the unaptneſſe of the Nation to beare much, eſpecially from thoſe that pretend to love them, and unto whom they expreſſed ſo much hearty affection, (as any People in the world ever did,) as in the quiet admiſſion of King *James* from *Scotland*, ſufficient, (if any Obligation would worke Kings to Reaſon,) to have endeared both him and his ſonne King *Charles*, to an inviolable love, and hearty affection to the *Engliſh Nation*; but it would not doe.

They chooſe rather to truſt unto their Policies and Court Arts, to King-waſte, and deluſion, then to Juſtice and plaine dealing; and did effect many things tending to our enſlaving (as in your Firſt *Remonſtrance*; you ſhew skill enough to manifeſt the ſame to all the World:) and this Nation having been by their deluſive Arts, and a long continued Peace, much ſoftened and debaſed in judgement and Spirit, did beare far beyond its uſuall temper, or any example of our Fore-Fathers, which (to our ſhame,) wee acknowledge.

But in concluſion, longer they would not beare, and then yee were choſen to worke our deliverance, and to Eſtate us in naturall and juſt libertie agreeable to *Reaſon* and common *equitie*; for whatever our Fore-fathers were; or whatever they did or ſuffered, or were enforced to yeeld unto; we are the men of the preſent age, and ought to be abſolutely free from all kindes of exorbitancies, moleſtations or *Arbitrary Power*, and you wee chooſe to free us from all without exception or limitation, either in reſpect of Perſons, Officers, Degrees, or things; and we were full of confidence, that ye alſo would have dealt impartially on our behalf, and made us the moſt abſolute free People in the world.

But how ye have dealt with us; wee ſhall now let you know, and let the *Righteous GOD judge between you and us*; the continuall Oppreſſours of the Nation, have been Kings, which is ſo evident, that you cannot denie it; and ye your ſelves have told the King, (whom yet you owne,) *That his whole* 16. *Yeeres reigne was one continued act of the breach of the Law.*

You ſhewed him, *That you underſtood his under-working with* Ireland, *his endeavour to enforce the Parliament by the Army raiſed againſt* Scotland, *yee were eye-witneſſes of his violent attempt about the* Five Members; *Yee ſaw evidently his purpoſe of raiſing Warre; yee have ſeen him engaged, and with obſtinate violence, perſiſting in the moſt bloody Warre that ever this Nation knew, to the waſting and deſtruction of multitudes of honeſt and Religious People.*

Yee have experience, that none but a King could doe ſo great intollerable miſchiefes, the very name of King, proving a ſufficient charme to delude many of our Brethren in *Wales*, *Ireland*, *England*, and *Scotland* too, ſo farre, *as to fight againſt their own Liberties*, which you know, no man under heaven could ever have done.

And yet, as if you were of Counſell with him, and were reſolved to hold up his reputation, thereby to enable him to goe on in miſchief, you maintaine, *The King can doe no wrong*, and apply all his Oppreſſions to *Evill Counſellors*, begging and intreating him in ſuch ſubmiſſive language, to returne to his Kingly Office and Parliament, as if you were reſolved to make us beleeve, hee were a God, without whoſe preſence, all muſt fall to ruine, or as if it were impoſſible for any Nation to be happy without a King.

You cannot fight for our *Liberties*, but it muſt be in the Name of *King* and *Parliament*; he that ſpeakes of his crueltie, muſt be thruſt out of your Houſe and ſociety; your Preachers muſt pray for him,as if he had not deſerved to be excommunicated all Chriſtian Society, or as if yee or they thought God were a reſpecter of the Perſons of Kings in judgement.

By this and other your like dealings,your frequent treating,and tampering to maintaine his honour, Wee that have truſted you to deliver us from his Opreſſions,and to preſerve us from his cruelties, are waſted and conſumed (in multitudes) to manifold miſeries, whilſt you lie ready with open armes to receive him, *and to make him a great and glorious King.*

Have you ſhooke this Nation like an Earth-quake, to produce no more then this for us; Is it for this, that ye have made ſo free uſe,& been ſo bold both with our Perſons & Eſtates? And doe you (becauſe of our readines to comply with your deſires in all things) conceive us ſo ſottiſh,as to be contented with ſuch unworthy returnes of our truſt and Love? No; it is high time wee be plaine with you; *WEE are not, nor SHALL not be ſo contented*; Wee doe expect according to *reaſon*, that yee *ſhould* in the firſt place, declare and ſet forth *King Charles* his wickedneſſe openly before the world, and withall, to ſhew the intollerable inconyeniences of having a *Kingly Government*, from the conſtant evill practiſes of thoſe of this Nation; and ſo to declare *King Charles* an enemy,and to publiſh your reſolution, never to have any more, but to acquite us of ſo great a charge and trouble for ever, and to convert the great revenue of the Crowne to the publike treaſure, to make good the injuries and *injuſtices* done heretofore, and of late by thoſe that have poſſeſſed the ſame; and this we expected long ſince at your hand, and untill this be done, wee ſhall not thinke our ſelves well dealt withall in this originall of all Oppreſſions, to wit *Kings*.

Yee muſt alſo deal better with us concerning the *Lords*,then you have done? Yee only are choſen by Us the People;and therefore in you onely is the Power of binding the whole Nation, by making, altering, or aboliſhing of Lawes; Yee have therefore prejudiced Us, in acting ſo, as if ye could not make a Law without both the Royall aſſent of the King (*ſo ye are pleaſed to expreſſe your ſelves,*) and the aſſent of the Lords; yet when either King or Lords aſſent not to what you approve, yee have ſo much ſenſe of your owne Power, as to aſſent what yee thinke good by an Order of your owne Houſe.

What is this but to blinde our eyes, that Wee ſhould not know where our Power is lodged, nor to whom to apply our ſelves for the uſe thereof; but if We want a *Law*, Wee muſt awaite till the *King* and *Lords* aſſent; if an Ordinance, then Wee muſt waite till the *Lords* aſſent; yet ye knowing their aſſent to be meerly formall, (*as having no root in the choice of the People, from whom the Power that is juſt muſt be derived,*) doe frequently importune their aſſent, which implies a moſt groſſe abſurditie.

For where their aſſent is neceſſary and eſſentiall, they muſt be as *Free* as you, to aſſent, or diſſent as their underſtandings and Conſciences ſhould guide them: and might as juſtly importune you, as yee them. Yee ought in Conſcience to reduce this caſe alſo to a certaintie, and not to waſte time, and open your Counſells, and be lyable to ſo many Obſtructions as yee have been.

But to prevaile with them (enjoying their Honours and Poſſeſſions,) to be lyable, and ſtand to be choſen for Knights and Burgeſſes by the People, as other the Gentry and *Free-men* of this Nation doe, which will be an Obligation upon them, as having one and the ſame intereſt: then alſo they would be diſtinguiſhed by their vertues, and love to the *Common-wealth*, whereas now they Act and Vote in our affaires but as intruders, or as thruſt upon us by *Kings*, to make good their Intereſts, which to this day have been to bring us into a ſlaviſh ſubjection to their wills.

Nor is there any reaſon, that they ſhould in any meaſure, be leſſe lyable to any Law then the Gentry are; Why ſhould any of them aſſault, ſtrike, or beate any, and not be lyable to the Law, as other men are? Why ſhould not they be as lyable to their debts as other men? there is no reaſon: yet have yee ſtood ſtill, and ſeen many of us, and ſome of your ſelves violently abuſed without repairation.

Wee deſire you to free us from theſe abuſes, and their negative Voices, or elſe tell us, that it is reaſonable wee ſhould be ſlaves, this being a perpetuall prejudice in our Government, neither conſiſting with *Freedome* nor *Safety*: with *Freedome* it cannot; for in this way of Voting in all Affaires of the *Common-wealth*, being not Choſen thereunto by the People, they are therein Maſters & Lords of the People, which neceſſarily implyes the People to be their ſervants and vaſſalls, and they have uſed many of us accordingly, by committing divers to Priſon upon their owne Authority,

namely

William Larner, Liev. Col. *John Lilburne*, and other worthy Sufferers, who upon Appeale unto you, have not beene relieved.

Wee muſt therefore pray you to make a Law againſt all kinds of *Arbitrary Government*, as the higheſt capitall offence againſt the *Common-wealth*, and to reduce all conditions of men to a certainty, that none hence-forward may preſume or plead any thing in way of excuſe, and that ye will leave no ſavour or ſcruple of Tyrannicall Power over us in any whatſoever.

Time hath revealed hidden things unto us, things covered over thick and threefold with pretences of *the true Reformed Religion*, when as wee ſee apparently, that this Nation, and that of *Scotland*, are joyned together in a moſt bloody and conſuming Warre, by the waſte and policie of a ſort of *Lords* in each Nation, that were male-contents, and vexed that the *King* had advanced others, and not themſelves to the manageing of State-affaires.

Which they ſuffered till the King increaſing his Oppreſſions in both Nations, gave them opportunity to reveale themſelves, and then they reſolve to bring the King to their bow and regulation, and to exclude all thoſe from managing State-affaires that hee had advanced thereunto, and who were growne ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, as theſe diſcontented ones were lyable to continuall moleſtations from them, either by practiſes at Counſel-table, High-Commiſſion, or Starre-chamber.

So as their work was to ſubvert the *Monarchiall Lords* and *Clergy*, and therewithall, to abate the Power of the King, and to Order him: but this was a mighty worke, and they were no wiſe able to effect it of themſelves: therefore (ſay they,) the generallity of the People muſt be engaged; and how muſt this be done? Why ſay they, wee muſt aſſociate with that part of the *Clergy* that are now made underlings, and others of them that have been oppreſſed, and with the moſt zealous religious Non-conformiſts, and by the helpe of theſe, wee will lay before the Generalitie of the People, all the *Popiſh Innovations in Religion, all the Oppreſſions of the Biſhops and High-Commiſſion, all the exorbitances of the Counſell-board, and Star-chamber, all the injuſtice of the Chancery, and Courts of Juſtice, all the illegall Taxations, as Ship-mony, Pattents, and Projects*, whereby we ſhall be ſure to get into our Party, the generalitie of the Citie of *London*, and all the conſiderable ſubſtantiall People of both Nations.

By whoſe cry and importunity we ſhall have a *Parliament*, which wee ſhall by our manifold wayes, alliant, dependant, and relations ſoone worke to our purpoſes.

But (ſay ſome) this will never be effected without a Warre, for the King will have a ſtrong party, and he will never ſubmit to us; 'tis not expected otherwiſe (ſay they) and great and vaſte ſums of money muſt be raiſed, and Souldiers and Ammunition muſt be had, whereof wee ſhall not need to feare any want: for what will not an oppreſt, rich, and Religious People doe, to be delivered from all kinds of Oppreſſion, both *Spirituall* and *Temporall*, and to be reſtored to *purity* and *freedome* in Religion, and to the juſt liberty of their *Perſons* and *Eſtates*?

All our care muſt be to hold all at our Command and diſpoſing; for if this People thus ſtirred up by us, ſhould make an end too ſoon with the King and his party, it is much to be doubted, they would place the *Supreame Power* in their Houſe of *Commons*, unto whom only of right it belongeth, they only being choſen by the People, which is ſo preſently diſcerned, that as wee have a care the King and his Lords muſt not prevaile, ſo more eſpecially, wee muſt be carefull the *Supreame Power* fall not into the Peoples hands, or Houſe of *Commons*.

Therefore wee muſt ſo act, as not to make an end with the King and his Party, till by expence of time and treaſure, a long, bloody and conſuming War, decay of trade, and multitudes of the higheſt *Impoſitions*, the People by degrees are tyred and wearied, ſo as they ſhall not be able to conteſt or diſpute with us, either about *Supreame* or *inferiour Power*; but wee will be able, afore they are aware, to give them both Law and Religion.

In Scotland *it will be eaſie to eſtabliſh the* Presbyteriall *Government in the Church, and that being once effected, it will not be much difficult in* England, *upon a pretence of uniformity in both Nations, and the like, unto which there will be found a Clergy as willing as wee, it giving them as abſolute a Miniſtery over the Conſciences of the People, over the Perſons and Purſes, as wee our ſelves aime at, or deſire.*

And if any ſhall preſume to oppoſe either us or them, wee ſhall be eaſily able by the helpe of the Clergy, by our Party in the Houſe of Commons, *and by their and our influence in all parts of both Nations, eaſily to cruſh and ſuppreſſe them.*

Well (ſaies ſome) all this may be done, but wee, without abundance of travell to our ſelves, and wounding our owne Conſciences, for wee muſt groſly diſſemble before God, and all the world will ſee it in time; for wee can never doe all this that yee aime at, but by the very ſame oppreſſions as wee practiſed by the King, the Biſhops, and all thoſe his tyrannicall Inſtruments, both in Religion, and Civill Government.

And it will never laſt or continue long, the People will ſee it, and hate you for it, more then ever they hated the former Tyrants and Oppreſſours: were it not better and ſafer for us to be juſt, and really to doe that for the People, which wee pretend, and for which wee ſhall ſo freely ſpend their lives and Eſtates, and ſo have their Love, and enjoy the Peace of quiet Conſciences?

For (ſay they) are not Wee a LORD, a Peere of the Kingdom? Have you your Lordſhip or Peerage, or thoſe Honours and Priviledges that belong thereunto from the love and Election of the People? Your intereſt is as different from theirs, and as inconſiſtent with their freedoms, as thoſe Lords and Clergy are, whom wee ſtrive to ſupplant.

And therefore, rather then ſatisfie the Peoples expectations in what concernes their Freedoms, it were much better to continue as wee are, and never diſturbe the King in his Prerogatives, nor his Lords and Prelates in their Priviledges: and therefore let us be as one, and when wee talke of Conſcience, let us make conſcience, to make good unto our ſelves and our Poſterities thoſe Dignities, Honours and Preheminencies conveyed unto us by our Noble Progenitours, by all the meanes wee can; not making queſtions for Conſcience ſake, or any other things; and if wee be united in our endeavours, and worke wiſely, obſerving when to advance, and when to give ground, wee cannot faile of ſucceſſe, which will be an honour to our Names for ever.

Theſe are the ſtrong deluſions that have been amongſt us, and the myſtery of iniquity hath wrought moſt vehemently in all our affaires: Hence it was that Strafford was ſo long in tryall, and that he had no greater heads to beare his company. Hence it was that the King was not called to an account for his oppreſſive Government, and that the treachery of thoſe that would have enforced you, was not ſeverely puniſhed.

That the King gained time to raiſe an Army, and the Queene to furniſh Ammunition; that our firſt and ſecond Army was ſo ill formed, and as ill mannaged; Sherburn, Brainford, Exeter, the ſlender uſe of the Aſſociate Counties, the ſlight garding of the ſea, Oxford, Dennington, the

Weſt *Defeate, did all proceed from (and upon) the Myſtery of Iniquitie.*

The King and his Party had been nothing in your hands, had not ſome of you been engaged, and ſome of you enſnared, and the reſt of you over-borne with this Myſtery, which you may now eaſily perceive, if you have a minde thereunto, that yee were put upon the continuation of this P*arliament, during the pleaſure of both Houſes, was from this Myſtery, becauſe in time theſe* Politit*ions had hopes to worke, and pervert you to forſake the common* Intereſt *of thoſe that chooſe and truſted you to promote their unjuſt Deſigne to enſlave us; wherein they have prevailed too too much.*

For Wee muſt deale plainly with you, yee have long time acted more like the *Houſe of Peers* then the *Houſe of Commons*: Wee can ſcarcely approach your Door with a Requeſt or motion, though by way of Petition, but yee hold long debates, whether Wee break not your *Priviledges*; the *Kings*, or the *Lords* pretended *Prerogatives* never made a greater noiſe, nor was made more dreadfull then the Name of *Priviledge of the Houſe of Commons.*

Your Members in all Impoſitions muſt not be taxed in the places where they live, like other men: Your ſervants have their *Priviledges* too. To accuſe or proſecute any of you, is become dangerous to the Proſecutors. Yee have impriſonments as frequent for either Witneſſes or Proſecutors, as ever the *Star-chamber* had, and yee are furniſhed with new deviſed Arguments, to prove, that yee onely may juſtly doe theſe groſſe injuſtices, which the *Starre-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, and *Counſell-board* might not doe.

And for doing whereof (whil'ſt yee were untainted,) yee aboliſhed them, for yee now frequently commit mens Perſons to Priſon without ſhewing Cauſe; Yee examine men upon *Interrogatories* and *Queſtions* againſt themſelves, and Impriſon them for refuſing to anſwere: And ye have Officious ſervile men, that write and publiſh Sophiſticall Arguments to juſtifie your ſo doing, for which they are rewarded and countenanced, as the *Starre-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion*-beagles lately were.

Whilſt thoſe that entured their lives for your eſtabliſhment, are many of them vexed and moleſted, and impoveriſhed by them; Yee have entertained to be your Committees ſervants, thoſe very prowling Varlets that were imployed by thoſe unjuſt Courts, who took pleaſure to torment honeſt conſcionable People; yea vex and moleſt honeſt men for matters of Religion, and difference with you and your *Synod* in judgement, and take upon you to determine of Doctrine and Diſcipline, approving this, and reproaching that, juſt like unto former ignorant pollitick and ſuperſtitious Parliaments and Convocations: And thereby have divided honeſt People amongſt themſelves, by countenancing only thoſe of the *Presbitry*, and diſcountenancing all the Separation, *Anabaptiſts* and *Independents*.

And though it reſteth in you to acquiet all differences in affection, though not in judgement, by permitting every one to be fully perſwaded in their owne mindes, commanding all Reproach to ceaſe; yet as yee alſo had admitted *Machiavells* Maxime, *Divide & impera*, divide and prevaile; yee countenance onely one, open the Printing-preſſe onely unto one, and that to the *Presbytry*, and ſuffer them to raile and abuſe, and domineere over all the reſt, as if alſo ye had diſcovered and digeſted, That without a powerfull compulſive *Presbytry* in the Church, a compulſive maſterſhip, or Ariſtocraticall Government over the People in the State, could never long be maintained.

Whereas truely wee are well aſſured, neither you, nor none elſe, can have any into Power at all to conclude the People in matters that concerne the Worſhip of God, for therein every one of us ought to be fully aſſured in our owne mindes, and to be ſure to Worſhip him according to our Conſciences.

Yee may propoſe what Forme yee conceive beſt, and moſt available for Information and well-being of the Nation, and may perſwade and invite thereunto, but compell, yee cannot juſtly; for ye have no Power from Us ſo to doe, nor could you have; for wee could not conferre a Power that was not in our ſelves, there being none of us, that can without wilfull ſinne binde our ſelves to worſhip God after any other way, then what (to a tittle,) in our owne particular underſtandings, wee approve to be juſt.

And therefore We could not referre our ſelves to you in things of this Nature; and ſurely, if We could not conferre this Power upon you, yee cannot have it, and ſo not exerciſe it juſtly: Nay, as we ought not to revile or reproach any man for his differing with us in judgement, more then wee would be reviled or reproached for ours;even ſo yee ought not to countenance any Reproachers or revilers,or moleſters for matters of Conſcience.

But to protect and defend all that live peaceably in the Commonwealth,of what judgement or way of Worſhip whatſoever; and if ye would bend your mindes thereunto, and leave your ſelves open to give eare, and to conſider ſuch things as would be preſented unto you,a juſt way would be diſcovered for the Peace & quiet of the land in generall, and of every well-minded Perſon in particular.

But if you lock up your ſelves from hearing all voices; how is it poſſible you ſhould *try all things.* It is not for you to aſſume a Power to controule and force Religion, or a way of *Church Government*,upon the People, becauſe former Parliaments have ſo done; yee are firſt to prove that yee could have ſuch a Power juſtly entruſted unto you by the People that truſted you, (which you ſee you have not,) we may happily be anſwered, that the Kings Writ that ſummons a Parliament, and directs the People to chooſe Knights and *Burgeſſes*, implyes the Eſtabliſhment of Religion.

To which wee anſwere, that if Kings would prove themſelves Lawfull Magiſtrates, they muſt prove themſelves to be ſo,by a lawfull derivation of their Authority, which muſt be from the voluntary truſt of the People, and then the caſe is the ſame with them, as between the People & you, they as you,being poſſeſſed of no more Power then what is in the People juſtly to intruſt, and then all implications in the Writts, of the *Eſtabliſhment of Religion*, ſheweth that in that particular,as many other,we remain under the *Norman* yoke of an *unlawfull Power*, from which wee ought to free our ſelves; and which yee ought not to maintaine upon us, but to abrogate.

But ye have liſtned to any Counſells, rather then to the voice of us that truſted you: Why is it that you have ſtopt the Preſſe; but that you would have nothing but pleaſing flattering Diſcourſes, and go on to make your ſelves partakers of the *Lordſhip over us*, without hearing any thing to the contrary: yea, your *Lords* and *Clergy* long to have us in the ſame condition with our deluded brethren, the *Commons of Scotland*, where their underſtandings are ſo captivated with a Reverend opinion of their *Presbytery*, that they really beleeve them to be by *Divine Authority*, and are as zealous therein, as ever the poore deceived Papiſts were,

As much they live in feare of their thunder-bolts of Excommunication, and good cauſe they have, poor ſoules, for thoſe *Excommunications are ſo followed with the civill Sanction, or ſecular Power, that they are able to cruſh any oppoſer or diſſenter to duſt, to undoe or ruine any man: ſo abſolute a Power hath their new* Clergy *already gained over the poore People there, and earneſtly labour to bring us into the ſame condition, becauſe if wee ſhould live in greater Freedome in this Nation, it would (they know,) in time be obſerved by their* People, *whoſe underſtandings would be thereby informed, and then they would grow impatient of their thraldome, and ſhake off their yoake.*

They are alſo in no leſſe bondage in things Civill; the Lords and great Men over-rule all, as they pleaſe; the People *are ſcarce free in any thing.*

——— Friends, theſe are knowne Truths. ———

And hence it is, that in their Counſells here, they adhere to thoſe that maintaine their owne greatneſſe, and uſurped rule over us, leſt if wee ſhould here poſſeſſe greater liberty, then their vaſſalls the People *in* Scotland, *they might in ſhort time obſerve the ſame, and diſcharge themſelves of their Oppreſſions.*

It is from the myſtery of iniquity, that yee have never made that uſe of the People *of this Nation, in your warre, as you might have done, but have choſen rather to hazard their comming in, then to Arme your owne native undoubted friends; by which meanes they are poſſeſſed of too many conſiderable ſtrengths of this Nation, and ſpeak ſuch language in their late publiſhed papers, as if they were not payed for their ſlow aſſiſtance.*

Whereas yee might have ended the Warre long ere this, if by Sea or Land you had ſhewed your ſelves reſolved to make us a Free-People; *but it is evident, a change of our bondage is the uttermoſt is intended us, and that too for a worſe, and longer; if wee ſhall be ſo contended; but it is ſtrange you ſhould imagine.*

But the truth is, wee finde none are ſo much hated by you, as thoſe you thinke doe diſcerne thoſe your purpoſes, or that apply themſelves unto you, with motions tending to divert you from proceeding therein: for ſome yeers now, no condition of men can prevaile with you, to ammend any thing that is amiſſe in the Common-wealth.

The exorbitances in the *Cities Government*, and the ſtrivings about *Prerogatives* in the *Major* and *Aldermen*, againſt the *Freedoms* of the *Commons*, (and to their extreme prejudice,) are returned to the ſame point they were at in *Garrawayes* time, which you obſerve, and move not, nor aſſiſt the *Commons*; Nay, worſe then in his time, they are juſtified by the *Major*, in a book publiſhed, and ſent by him to every *Common-Counſell-man*.

The oppreſſion of the *Turky Company*, and the *Adventerers* Company, and all other infringements of our Native Liberties of the ſame nature, and which in the beginnings of the Parliament, yee ſeemed to abhominate, are now by you complyed withall, and licenſed to goe on in their Oppreſſions.

Yee know, the Lawes of this Nation are unworthy a *Free-People*, and deſerve from firſt to laſt, to be conſidered, and ſeriouſly debated, and reduced to an agreement with common *equity*, and *right reaſon*, which ought to be the Forme and Life of every Government.

Magna Charta it ſelf being but a beggerly thing, containing many markes of intollerable bondage, & the Lawes that have been made ſince by Parliaments, have in very many particulars made our Government much more oppreſſive and intollerable.

The *Norman* way for ending of Controverſies, was much more abuſive then the *Engliſh way*, yet the *Conquerour*, contrary to his Oath introduced the *Norman* Lawes, and his litigious and vexatious way amongſt us; the like he did alſo for puniſhment of malefactours, Controverſies of all natures, having before a quick and finall diſpatch in every hundred.

He erected a trade of Judges and Lawyers, to ſell Juſtice and injuſtice at his owne unconſcionable rate, and in what time hee pleaſed; the corruption whereof is yet remaining upon us, to our continuall impoveriſhing and moleſtation; from which we thought you ſhould have delivered us.

Yee know alſo, Impriſonment for Debt, is not from the beginning; Yet ye thinke not of theſe many Thouſand Perſons and Families that are deſtroyed thereby, *yee are Rich, and abound in goods, and have need of nothing; but the afflictions of the poore; your hunger-ſtarved brethren, ye have no compaſſion of*; Your zeal makes a noiſe as farre as *Argiere*, to deliver thoſe captived Chriſtians at the charge of others, but thoſe whom your owne unjuſt Lawes hold captive in your owne Priſons; theſe are too neere you to thinke of; Nay, yee ſuffer poor Chriſtians, for whom Chriſt died to kneel before you in the ſtreets, aged, ſick and cripled, begging your halfe-penny Charities, and yee ruſtle by them in your Coaches and ſilkes daily, without regard, or taking any courſe for their conſtant reliefe, their ſight would melt the heart of any Chriſtian, and yet it moves not you nor your *Clergy*.

Wee intreat you to conſider what difference there is, between binding a man to an Oare, as a *Gally-ſlave* in *Turkie* or *Argiere*, and Preſſing of men to ſerve in your Warre; to ſurprize a man on the ſudden, force him from his Calling, where he lived comfortably, from a good trade; from his deare Parents, Wife or Children, againſt inclination, diſpoſition to fight for a Cauſe hee underſtands not, and in Company of ſuch, as he hath no comfort to be withall; for Pay, that will ſcarce give him ſuſtenance; and if he live, to returne to a loſt trade, or beggery, or not much better: If any Tyranny or cruelty exceed this; it muſt be worſe then that of a *Turkiſh Gally-ſlave*.

But yee are apt to ſay, What remedy, man wee muſt have? To which we anſwer, in behalfe of our ſelves, and our too much injured Brethren, that are Preſſed; That the *Hollanders* our provident Neighbours have no ſuch cruelties, eſteeming nothing more unjuſt, or unreaſonable, yet they want no men; and if ye would take care, that all ſorts of men might find comfort and contentment in your Government, yee would not need to enforce men to ſerve your Warres.

And if yee would in many things follow their good example, and make this Nation a *State*, free from the Oppreſſion of *Kings*, and the corruptions of the Court, and ſhew love to the People in the Conſtitutions of your Government, the affection of the People, would ſatisfie all common and publike Occaſions: and in many particulars wee can ſhew you a remedy for this and all other inconveniences, if wee could find you inclinable to heare us.

Yee are extreamely altered in demeanour towards us, in the beginning yee ſeemed to know what Freedome was; made a diſtinction of honeſt men, whether rich or poor, all were welcome to you, and yee would mix your ſelves with us in a loving familiar way, void of Courtly obſervance or behaviour.

Yee kept your Committee doores open, all might heare & judge of your dealings, hardly yee would permit men to ſtand bare-headed before you, ſome of you telling them, ye more regarded their health, and that they ſhould not deem of you, as of other domineering Courts, yee and they were one, all *Commons* of *England*; and the like ingenious carriage, by which ye wanne our affections to that height, that ye no ſooner demanded any thing, but it was effected; yee did well then, who did hinder you? *the myſtery of iniquity*, that was it that perverted your courſe.

What a multitude of precious lives have been loſt? What a maſſe of moneys have been raiſed? What one way was propos'd to advance moneys, that was refuſed by you, though never ſo prejudiciall to the People, allowing your Committees to force men to pay or lend, or elſe to ſweare that they were not worth ſo or ſo: the moſt deſtructive courſe to tradeſmen, that could be deviſed, fifty intire ſubſidies, to be lent throughout *London*, if not procured, yet authoriz'd by you; never the like heard of, and the *Exciſe* that being once ſetled, all other aſſeſſments ſhould ceaſe.

Notwithſtanding in few moneths comes forth Ordinance upon Ordinance for more moneys, and for the *Cuſtomes*, they were thought an *oppreſſion* in the beginning, and being (ſo high,) an hinderance to Trade, and extreamly prejudiciall to the Nation, neverthleſſe is now confirmed, with many augmentations, in ſo much as men of interiour trading finde great trouble to provide moneys for *Cuſtomes*, and have ſo many Officers to pleaſe, that it is a very ſlavery to have any thing to doe with them, and no remedy; the firſt Commiſſioners being more harſh and ingenious, then the late *Farmers*, and the laſt worſe then the former.

Truly it is a ſad thing, but too true, a plaine quiet-minded man in any place in *England*, is juſt like a harmeleſſe ſheep in a Thicket, can hardly move or ſtirre, but hee ſhall be ſtrech'd, and looſe his wooll: ſuch *Committees* have ye made in all Cities and Counties, and none are ſo ill uſed as honeſt Godly men.

Ye have now ſate full five yeeres, which is foure yeeres longer then wee intended, for wee could chooſe you but for (at moſt) one yeere; and now we wiſh ye would publiſh to all the world, the good that you have done for us, the *liberty* ye have brought us unto: if yee could excuſe your ſelves, as ye uſe to doe; by ſaying it hath been a time of warre; that will not doe: for when the warre might in the beginning have been prevented, if yee had drawn a little more blood

from

from the right veine, and might often (ere this) have been Ended.

Occaſion hath been given away, and Treated away, and now, when through the faithfulneſſe of the *New Modell*, yee have almoſt forc'd an end, and have no great part to effect: now againe, at the inſtigation of thoſe that love their *Kings* more then all this Nation, and their owne, his Sacred or holy Majeſtie, muſt againe be treated with, their *Nationall and Solemne League and Covenant with their God*, binding them to be *reſpecters of Perſons in judgement*: and to preſerve His Perſon in the defence of the *true Proteſtant Religion, and Libertie of the People; that hath conſtantly againſt all perſwaſion and Obligation, done what ever he could to ſubvert both: if this be not the height of the myſtery* of iniquitie, what is higher.

But let not theſe be deceived, nor thus under zealous expreſſions deceive you; wee wiſh your ſoules may no further *enter into their ſecret: For God will not be mocked, nor ſuffer ſuch groſſe Hypocriſie to paſſe without exemplary puniſhment*: And if yee beleeve there is a God; yee muſt beleeve it; and if yee doe beleeve it, and conſider the wayes yee have troad, and timely repent, ſhew it by walking contrary to what yee have done, or purpoſed to doe, and let us quickly and ſpeedily partake thereof: For God is a God *that taketh vengeance*, and will not ſuffer you to goe on to our ruine.

Wee have ſome hopes ye will; for amongſt you, there have been alwayes faithfull and Worthy men, whoſe aboundant grief it hath been to obſerve the ſtrange progreſſe of the Choſen men of the Common-wealth, and have ſtrove exceedingly on all occaſions to produce better effects, and ſome Chriſtians of late produced to their praiſe.

Others there are, that have been onely miſled by the policies, and ſtratagems of politick men, and theſe, after this our ſerious advice, will make you more ſeriouſly ſtuddie the common Intereſt of this Nation: others there are, and thoſe a great number, that are newly choſen into your houſe, and wee truſt are ſuch as will exceedingly ſtrengthen the good part, that hitherto hath been too weake to ſteere an even courſe amidſt ſo many oppoſitions and croſſe waves.

But henceforth joyn'd all in one will be able to doe and carry on whatſoever is juſt and good for the Common-wealth, the more juſt and good, the more eaſily effected, for ſuch things are eaſily to be made evident to all men, and can never faile of the uttermoſt aſſiſtance of all well-minded People.

And therefore wee would not have you to be diſcouraged in attempting whatſoever is evedently juſt, for Wee will therein aſſiſt you to the laſt drop of our bloods: *Feare neither the Anakims, nor the ſonnes of the Gyants, For the LORD our God, hee will ſtand by you in all things that are juſt, and will bleſſe and proſper you therein.*

Forſake, and utterly renounce all craftie and ſubtill intentions; hide not your thoughts from Us, and give us encouragement to be open-breaſted unto you: Proclaime afore-hand, what yee determine to doe, in eſtabliſhing any thing for continuance; and heare all things that can be ſpoken with or againſt the ſame, and to that intent, let the impriſoned Preſſes at liberty, that all mens underſtandings may be more conveniently informed, and convinced, as farre as is poſſible by the *equity* of your Proceedings.

Wee cannot but expect to be delivered from the *Norman* bondage, whereof wee now as well as our Predeceſſours, have felt the ſmart by theſe bloody warres; and from all unreaſonable Lawes made ever ſince that unhappy conqueſt; as wee have encouragement, wee ſhall informe you further, and guide you, as we obſerve your doings.

The Worke yee muſt note is ours, and not your owne, though ye are to be partakers with us in the well or ill doing thereof: and therefore ye muſt expect to heare more frequently from us then yee have done, nor will it be your wiſedome to take theſe Admonitions and Cautions in evill part.

If yee conſider well, yee may wonder Wee are no tarter: Ye may perceive, wee have not yet left our true *Engliſh confidence*, but are willing that both you, and all our Neighbour-Nations ſhould know, that wee both ſee and know all ſtratagems and Policies that are laid in waite to entrap, and ſo to enſlave us, and that wee bid defyance to their worſt our enemies can doe; we know wee have ſtoore of friends in our Neighbour Countries.

Our head is not yet ſo intoxicated with this *New myſtery of Iniquity*, but that a reaſonable *Cordiall* Adminiſtred by your hand, will ſet us faſt in our ſeat.

Yee are not to reckon that yee have any longer time to effect the Great Worke wee have entruſted unto you: for wee muſt not looſe our free choice of a Parliament once every yeer, freſh and freſh for a continuall Parliament.

For ſo, if a preſent *Parliament* be miſtaken in their underſtandings, and doe things prejudiciall, We may ſo long remain under theſe prejudices, that the *Common-wealth* may be endangered thereby, nor doe wee value a *Trienniall Parliament*: before three yeeres come to an end, Grievances and Miſchiefes may be paſt remedy.

And therefore our advice is, that yee Order a meeting of the choſen of *Parliament-men*, to be expreſly upon one certaine day in *November* yeerly throughout the Land in the Places accuſtomed, and to be by you expreſſed, there to make choice of whom they think good, according to *Law*, and all men that have a Right to be there, not to faile upon a great penaltie but no ſummons to be expected.

And if any Perſon without exception, ſhall write Letters, or uſe any endeavours to incline the chooſers to chooſe any man, or uſe any meanes to diſturbe or pervert them from a free Choice, then that all ſuch ſiniſter dealing be made puniſhable, or a moſt haynous crime.

And that a Parliament *ſo choſen in* November, *ſucceeding yeere by yeere, may come inſtead of the preceeding* Parliament, *and proceed with the Affaires of the Common-Wealth; nor would wee have it in the* Power *of our* Parliament, *to remove any* Member *from his Place or ſervice of the Houſe, without the conſent had of thoſe Counties, Cities and Burroughs reſpectively that choſe him; great inconveniences depending thereon, whereof wee have ſeene and felt too much.*

Now, if yee ſhall conſcionably performe your Truſt the yeer enſuing, and order the Parliaments to ſucceed as aforeſaid, then Wee ſhall not doubt to be made abſolute *Free-men* in time, and become a juſt, plenteous and Powerfull Nation; All that is paſt will be forgotten, and Wee ſhall yet have cauſe to rejoyce in your Wiſedome and Fidelity.

POSTSCRIPT.

Moreover, as for me, God forbid that I ſhould ſinne againſt the Lord in ceaſing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and right way. Onely feare the LORD, *and ſerve him in Truth with all your heart: For conſidder how great things He hath done for you. But if yee ſtill doe wickedly, yee ſhall be conſumed, both yee and your King.* 1 Sam.22.23,24,25.

FINIS.

THE COMMONERS COMPLAINT

1647

The Commoners Complaint appeared in London in 1647, without license or imprint. Overton's authorship is obvious. On the title-page of his copy, now in the British Museum, Thomason entered the date, February 10 [1647]. The text is here reproduced from the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

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THE
COMMONERS
COMPLAINT:
OR,
A DREADFUL WARNING
FROM
Newgate, to the Commons of England.

PRESENTED
To the Honourable Committee for conſideration of the
Commoners Liberties.

Wherein (as in a Glaſſe) every Free-man of *England* may clearly behold his own imminent inſufferable bondage and ſlavery under the *Norman-Prerogative* Men of this Kingdom, repreſented by the preſent ſufferings of *Richard Overton*; who for his juſt Vindication of the *Commoners* Rights and Freedoms againſt the Arbitrary Domination of the Houſe of Lords, hath by them bin impriſoned theſe 6 Months in the Goal of Newgate, his wife and his brother alſo by them moſt unjuſtly caſt into *Maidenlane* priſon: And from thence, ſhe (with her tender babe of half a years age in her armes) was, for refuſing active ſubjection to their Arbytrary Orders, dragg'd moſt barbarouſly and inhumanely head-long upon the ſtones through the ſtreets in the dirt and mire (as was her husband formerly (*Novemb.* 3. 1646) for the ſaid cauſe) worſe then Rebels, Traytors, Thieves, or Murtherers, to the place of execution: And in that moſt contemptible and villainous manner caſt into the moſt reproachful, infamous Goal of Bridewell: And their 3 ſmall children (as helpleſſe Orphans bereft of Father and Mother, Siſter and Brother) expoſed to the mercy of the wide world.

Whereunto is annexed the reſpective Appeales of his wife, and of his brother, unto the High Court of Parliament, the Commons of *England* aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

Iſa. 59. 14. *And judgment is turned backward, and juſtice ſtandeth a farre off: for Truth is fallen in the ſtreet, and Equity cannot enter.*

Ja: 10th: Printed *Anno Dom.* 1646.

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To his honoured friend, Col. *Henrie*

Martin, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and Chairman to the honourable Committee, for conſideration of the Commoners Liberties, and in him, to all the Members of the ſaid Committee; The humble Information & Complaint of *Richard Overton*, priſoner in the infamous Goal of New-Gate; concerning the barbarous cruelties, and inhumane practiſes of the houſe of Lords (and of their Prerogative-Agents) exerciſed upon himſelf, his wife, children, and whole family, ſince his legall tryall before the ſaid honourable Committee.

Jam.2.13. *He ſhall have judgment without mercy, that hath ſhewed no mercy.*

Pſalm.41.1,2. *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poore, the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble, the Lord will preſerve him, and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon the Earth.*

Maſter Chair man,

AS Bondage and Liberty are two contraries, ſo you cannot truly conſider the one, but you muſt reflect your eye upon the other: For, though one be ſo deſtructive to the Being of the other, that, where the one is, the other cannot be; yet, each by other is more eminently diſtinguiſhed: And looke how much the one is exceeding the other,by ſo much the other is deficient, & loſeth of its property: for,*quorum unum altero latius eſt, non ſunt re unum.*

Therefore,I humbly conceive,that,to the conſideration of the Commoners Liberties,the uſurpations,encroachments,& deſtructions thereof,fall inavoydably into like conſideration, even ſo, as the one cannot be truly conſidered without the other: If you will caſt your eye upon the glory and beauty of the one, your eare muſt be open to the cry and complaint of the other; And therefore, anſwerably, as you are by the *Soveraign power of the Land* ordained and deputed for the due and grave conſideration of the Commoners Liberties,you are by the ſame Authority alſo impowred for the reception of all *Petitions, Informations,*and *Complaints* of the *Afflicted Commoners*,touching their Birth-right,Liberties, and Freedomes, and thereof to judge, and accordingly to make Report unto the Houſe.

Wherefore Sir, I ſhall preſume to preſent this honourable Committee,with the late moſt barbarous inhumanities, and Turkiſh Cruelties, by the moſt *Arbytrary Tyrannicall Houſe of Lords,*and their *Prerogative-Butchers* perpetrated upon my ſelf,upon my wife,my three ſmal children,upon my brother, and the reſt of my family, in all, conſiſting of 8 perſons, all committed and acted ſince the late legall conſideration and tryal of my cauſe before you,yet ſtill depending upon the Report of this honourable Committee: As for their former illegal uſuapations over me,I ſhal omit their repetition, they being already made publike unto the world,& only acquaint you with the latter.

See the defiance,& the Arrow againſt tyrannie.

But firſt,I ſhal preſent you with thoſe their illegal cruelties which concern my ſelf (they falling firſt in order) together with the mutual paſſages concerning the ſame, betwixt their Inſtruments and me,then anſwerably I ſhal deſcend to their barbarous unheard of inhumanities(ſuch as never were acted by their *Norman Progenitors*, ſince the *Prerogative-Foundation* of that Norman houſe was ever laid,or ever ſince they bore the name of an Houſe of Peers) now lately upon the 6.and 8. of this inſtant *Jan.*1646, moſt villainouſly perpetrated upon my wife,children, and the reſt of my family, and commit the mutual paſſages on both ſides(faithfully pend and preſented) unto your grave and judicious conſideration, to judge impartially betwixt us: And all that I in the behalf of my ſelf, & of mine,ſhall crave from this honourable Committee, is but the *Benefit* of what the Lord himſelf hath commanded,Lev.19.15. *Ye ſhall do no unrighteouſneſſe in judgment, thou ſhalt not reſpect the perſon of the poor, nor honour the perſon of the mighty, but in righteouſneſſe ſhalt thou judge thy neighbour.*

If I be found a tranſgreſſour, then let me ſpeedily ſuffer my doome; but if I be found none,then let me have ſpeedy reliefe: I crave no favour,nor boon at your hands; it is onely juſtice which I deſire,and thats but a reaſonable ſuit; a ſuit, which of Pagans,Turks,& Infidels would not be condemned, and therefore juſtly may be expected from you.

Thus,then Sir,give me leave to acquaint you, that after my laſt departure from you in the Palace yard (*Novemb.*3.1646.) and that I was cleared from your preſence, and the preſence of my friends, and was only left in the hands of my Gaolers, my indignation and deteſtation(fore-uttered in your preſence in the *inward Court of Wards*) againſt the Arbytrary tyrannie and uſurpation of the houſe of Lords over the Commoners natural & legal Freedomes and Rights, and over mine in particular burſt out afreſh;and upon conſideration,whether I ſhould be ſo baſe to my Country,and to my ſelf in particular,as to yeeld theſe Arbytrary Lords,ſo much *Villain-ſervice*,as to become their Lordſhips *Prerogative-Porter*,to carry my ſelf to the ſtinking,lowſie,barbarous Goal of Newgate again or no; I reſolved in my ſelf,that as in heart I defied all injuſtice, cruelty, tyrannie, and oppreſſion,all arbitrary uſurpation and uſurpers whatſoever,ſo in perſon (come life,come death,come what come would) I would not be ſo treacherous to my own ſelfe, to my wife and children,and eſpecially to this Nation(the Land of my Nativity) in general,as perſonally to yeeld my active ſubmiſſion of any limbe that was mine(either in ſubſtance,or in ſhew) in the leaſt,to any *Arbitrary Vipers or Peſts, Egyptian Graſhoppers, Norman Invaders and Deſtroyers* of the Commoners legal inheritance and birth-right, their liberties and freedoms confirmed to them,both by divine,naturall,and humane Right:or once *to ſet one leg before another in ſubjection or attendance to any of their Canibal,Canker-Worm,Arbytrary Orders,Warrants, Significations of their pleaſures*(ſo flatly contrary to all good laws, juſtice, and equity)being as ſo many Mothes in the *Royall Roabe of the State*,or rather as ſo many *Wild-Bores* out of the Forreſt,to root up,devour,disfrancniſe and deſtroy this Nation of all her antient legall immunities and freedoms,root and branch ; yea, and of thoſe tender Plants and Seeds of the Commoners Rights & Liberties,which,in the dreadfull face of ſo many late turbulent, tempeſtuous,impetuous Guſts of oppoſition rage, bloud-ſhed, and fury have been implanted and ſown in the oppreſſed *Common-field of the State*,the which for want of their own *naturall* Dew and Rain from the *Superiour Orbe* of Authority, but with-held by ſome Luciferean Angels of State, ***Regal***, ***Parliamentary***,***Synodian***,***Sottiſh and Scottiſh***; the ***natural,free-Commoners of England*** have been forced to wet,moyſten, and manure the ſame with their ***bloud, their fleſh, and their bones***, &c. that thoſe tender Plants of freedome,equity and juſtice,might take root,be preſerved,ſpring up,flouriſh, and bring forth fruit, if not for themſelves,yet for their Poſterities.

And upon theſe,or the like conſiderations,I told my Jaylors, “that if they had no other Order or Warant for the remanding “back of my perſon to the Goal of Newgate I would not ſet one leg before another in ſubjection thereto ; but was fully re-“ſolved, that if they would have me back to the Goale, they “ſhould carry me.

But (Sir) leaſt the rarity and ſtrangeneſſe of this **Act** ſhould incurre yours and the Committees unjuſt cenſure and condemnation,like as of the inconſiderate multitude, whoſe judgments are guided by cuſtome,more then by reaſon;be pleaſed to conſider,that,

All *State-Deprivation* of liſe, limbe, goods, liberty or freedome, either is,or ſhould be,all and every particle thereof, the juſt execution of the *Law executing*:For in Equity,the Action executing is indiviſible from the Law,and only & preciſely proper thereto,and not at all to the party executed : yea, though a man legally guilty of death ſhould be condemned by the ſame legall Authority (or rather by perſons therein intruſted) *to cut his own throat*; yet were he in *equity* not *bound* thereunto, but in ſo doing ſhould be *guilty* of his *own blood*. And the Law of our Land makes no man his own Executioner, but hath provided Miniſters and Executioners, as *Majors, Sheriffes, Conſtables, Goalers, Hangmen,* &c. for that very end and purpoſe: And the Law of God leaves it as a matter out of all doubt and diſpute, and nature it ſelfe teaches, that no man ſhall be his own Butcher or Executioner, for in ſo doing, he ſhould ſin againſt his own fleſh, which is a thing moſt unnaturall and inhumane.

But my *rejection of carrying my own Body to the Goale*, was no other but the refuſall to be my own Executioner therein: for though it were not of that degree of cruelty and inhumanity to my own fleſh, as to cut my own throat; yet was it of the ſame nature and kind. And therefore if the one muſt be condemned as unjuſt, illegall and unnaturall, ſo muſt the other in its kind, ſo that as I was not bound, with my hands to cut my own throat, ſo with my feete, I was not bound to carry my ſelfe to priſon.

And from hence is it (as I conceive) that the Law hath provided *Portage* with Carts, Sledges, or the like, for *Malefactors to the place of Execution*, that they might not any wayes (either actually or apparently) be guilty of their own Execution, a thing abhominated and abhorred of nature.

*B*ut if it be objected, it is onely in *Capitall matters*, as of death, and the like, I anſwer, that from the equity whereon that is founded, the other is neceſſarily implyed, one equity being relative and eſſentiall unto both, and ſo need not be expreſſed in the leſſe: for by the equity and authority for the greater, the like is juſtified and commanded to be for the leſſe, for *omne majus includit minus* the leſſe is included in the greater, ſo that the equity in the greater cannot be denyed to the leſſe.

Therefore, in caſe I were legally a priſoner, yet were I not bound therby to ſet one leg before another in my own executiō although there were no preciſe preſcript therfore in the letter of the law to diſcharge me therof, which needs no further probation; yet for exemplary illuſtration, be pleaſed to conſider, that in the caſe of a Generalls Commiſſion, it is needleſſe to enjoyn him by *litterall expreſſion*, not to turne the mouthes of his Cannons againſt his own Souldiers, for that is ſo neceſſarily and naturally implyed, that it is needleſſe to be expreſſed: & as it is in the millitary, even ſo & much more is it in the politick capacity, the millitary being but thereto ſubſervient.

Yet further, though the letter of the Law ſhould enjoyn its Condemnants to be their own executioners, yet were that by its own equity condemned, nuld, and made voyd, for the letter muſt be ſubject to the equity: and look how much the letter tranſgreſſeth the equity, even ſo much it is unequall, and is of no validity or force, for the Law taken from its originall reaſon and end is made a ſhell without a kernel, a ſhaddow without a ſubſtance, a Carkeſſe without life: for the equity and reaſon thereof is that which gives it a *legall being and life*, and makes it authoritative and binding, if this be not granted, injuſtice may be a Law, tyranny may be a Law, luſt, will, pride, covetouſneſſe, and what no? may be Lawes; for if equity be not the bounder of the Law, over the corrupt nature of man, all will fall into confuſion, and one man will devoure another.

Beſides, as no man by Law may be his own Judge, ſo by the ſame reaſon no man may be his own Executioner, for as in equity it appropriateth ſole Judgement to it ſelf, ſo to it ſelfe it maketh ſole Challenge to its execution: for the contraction and unity of reaſon betwixt them may not be divided. So that in reaſon as it is bound to the one, in reaſon it is bound to provide for the other, & the guilty be ſuſpended from both, and to the Law wholly made paſſive, both for Judgment and execution.

But, if any, for want of preſident, ſhall condemn this Act of mine; to ſuch its proved rationally will anſwer, that reaſon hath no preſident; for, reaſon is the fountain of all juſt preſidents, and ſo uſed, granted and applyed by this very Parliament. 1 Book. declar. fol. 264. 298. 709. 726.

And from this accuſtomary pedant vaſſalage formerly the purſevants (and ſuch like catchpole devouring vermine) have made uſe for argument ſake againſt thoſe which have complained of their Impriſonment to the Parliament, ſaying, *they did not carry them to priſon*, but, that *they went into priſon*; But I think I have prevented the uſe of that objection againſt me.

Thus Sir, if the Law impoſe no ſuch obligation upon its Subjects, then can that which is contradictory thereto ſo vaſſalage any? if the Law fetch not that within its compaſſe and bounds, then much leſſe may that which is contrary thereto, which was my then preſent condition, for I was not in their hands, then under any legall warrant of the Law of the Land, but under an arbitrary order of the Houſe of Lords, directly contrary to the very Being of the Law of the Land: Therefore for me to be my own Executioner or its Executioner upon my ſelfe (for going or carrying cannot be denyed to be in a great meaſure its Execution) were to preferr the Law of Luſt, or Will, before the Law of the Land: to do more for that Power which is contrary to the very being of the Law, then the very Law it ſelfe doth require in its own behalfe, and if that were not to make the Law of none effect, judge ye. To do that homage to ſuch a power which is not due to the Law (for no more is due to the Law then the Law doth require, and the Law doth require no more then its due) is to make *Luſt* and *Will* predominant thereto, to make *Will* to take the *wall* of the Law, to abrogate Law, and in the roome thereof to introduce an arbitrary power.

And therefore as their Lordſhips in that their arbitrary capacity *found Warrants*, ſo ſhould their Lordſhips *find Leggs* to obey them, for I was reſolved, mine ſhould not be enſlaved to that their uſurpation to do their *Arbitrary Drudgery*, I would rather looſe my life, then in that kind to do them that vaſſalage: My *Leggs* were borne as free as the reſt of my *Body*, and therefore I ſcorne that *Leggs, or Armes, or hands of mine* ſhould do them any *villeine-Service*; for as I am a *Freeman by Birth*, ſo I am reſolved to live and dye, both in heart word and deed, in ſubſtance and in ſhew, maugre the Arbitrary mallice of the Houſe of Lords: yea if ought elſe I can deviſe to ſhew my actuall enmity and defiance againſt their arbitrary power, I'le do it, though it coſt the life of me, and myne, and therefore I care not who lets them know, that, that Act of mine was done in deſpite and defiance of their Warrant.

But in caſe you object, that I knew well enough, that if I would not go, they would carrie me, therefore it had been better for me to have gone, then to have expoſed my ſelfe to their cruelty.

I Anſwer.

1. If I had known they would have hanged me, muſt I therefore have hanged my ſelfe?

2. A good conſcience had rather run the hazard of cruelty then to abate an hairesbredth of conteſtation and oppoſition againſt illegality, injuſtice, and tyranny.

3. If they had had any legall juriſdiction over my leggs, then at their Commands my leggs were bound to obey: And then (in that caſe) I confeſſe it had been better to obey, then to have expoſed my perſon to the cruelty of threatning mercileſſe Goalers: But being free from their Juriſdiction *from the Crowne of my head to the Soale of my foote*, I know no reaſon, why I ſhould *foote it for them*, or in the leaſt dance any attendance to their *Arbitrary Warrants*; their Lordſhips may *put up their pipes*, except they will play to the *good old tune of the Law of the Land*, otherwiſe their Orders and Warrants are never like to have the Service of my leggs or feet, for they were never bred to tread in their *Arbitrary Steps*, but I ſhall leave *their Orders* and *their execution to themſelves*. And therefore, Sir, concerning that action of mine, I ſhall continue in the ſaid eſteeme thereof, till my defence be made voide, and it be legally proved, that by the Law of the Land, *I* was bound to ſet one legge before another in attendance to that Order.

And further touching this matter, *I* deſire you to remember, that in the inward Court of Wards, when *I* diſcovered thoſe reſolutions, in the Audience of divers Gentlemen there preſent, unto you, *I* told you, that *I* was no longer under the Arbitrary power of that illegall warrant of the Lords, but *under the power of the Houſe of Commons*, from which *I* was reſolved not to depart, which in ſome meaſure you ſeemed to oppoſe, whereat I demanded of you, *How then I came there? And if I were not brought thither by vertue of an Order from that Committee? So that though being formerly Commanded by the Lords Order to be kept in the Cuſtody of Newgate till their pleaſures ſhould be further ſignifyed, whereof to that time there had been no further ſignification at all, yet notwithſtanding I was brought from thence by vertue of an Order from that Committee, contrary to the end and intent of that Order of the Lords, ſo that I conceived, & ſtill do conceive that though that Warrant were not void of it ſelfe, yet were it made voide by that Order of their own, under the power and protection of which Order I was, ſo that being there, I would not depart from the roofe & verge of your Authority*, and this you know was the ſubſtance of my words, and thereupon indeed, *I ſate me downe in the window*, and told my Goaler, (but one at that time being preſent) *that if he would have me to priſon, he ſhould carry me:* no withſtanding you would give him no further charge of me, for conceiving from the equity of the Law (which though contradicted by the letter is abſolutely binding and valid) that I could not be remanded back unto priſon without a *new Commitment*, I demanded of you, *if you would commit me?* and I told you, *that if you would, I then would goe*, but that you plainly denied with an abſolute *No*, then I asked you *if you would command me to go and I would*, but that you alſo denyed, then I told you, that *if you would but intreate me for formallity ſake, (without any relation to that Order of the Lords) to go, I would go, but if you would neither commit, command, nor intreat me, then I would not go*, nothing then being againſt me for my impriſonment, but that Order of the Lords, And as I was reſolved I told you, *that I would not obey it to ſet one leg before another after its humour*. Therefore Sir, how you can blame me, either of illegality or ſo much as of diſreſpect unto you, or this Honourable Committee I cannot ſee, for no Law did I break, and to prevent all miſconſtructions I offered you more, then by Law I needed to have done.

Sir,

Had there been the letter of the Law directly againſt me, yet if it were contradicted by the equity of the Law, I had not been at all bound thereunto, except to oppoſe it: for the Letter if it controll and overthrow the equity, it is to be controlled and overthrowne it ſelfe, upon perill of treaſon to the equity, and the equity to be preſerved as the thing onely legally obligatory and binding.

But (Sir) there was neither letter nor equity of the Law againſt me, but that which was directly contrary to both: for the Lords warrant was directly oppugnant and deſtructive both to the legall letter and equity.

Therefore (Sir) I conceive that I was in no meaſure bound thereunto, but was as free legally, as in caſe that warrant of the Lords never had been. So that I had good cauſe, in caſe you would have had me part with my liberty, to demand, if that you would *commit me, command me, or entreate me*, and upon your denyall of all theſe to tell you, that then I would not go: For do you think that I am ſuch a foole to part with my liberty, for nothing? Sir, our liberties have been bought at a dearer rate, then ſo to be trifled and ſlighted away, eſpecially to captivate the ſame to the exhorbitant wills of the Lords, and to caſt my ſelfe in priſon during their boundleſſe pleaſures.

Had you committed me, commanded me, or entreated me; and thereupon I had gone, and been caught in my own net, yet had *I* been delivered from a worſe, *and of two evills the leſſe is to be choſen*, for thereby the pretended power of the Houſe of Lords over me (even in its very formality) had been utterly routed; and my ſelfe abſolutely cleared from their prerogative Bondage. But at that time you were not aminded to do it, but left me to their Lordſhips Arbytrary power.

But now Sir, I would not have you think from theſe demands of mine, that I would be ſubject to an arbitrary power more in you then in the other, for truly in thoſe demands there was tacitly couched a ſuppoſition of that which I knew could not be granted, and therefore I was the freer in my propoſall thereof, having an aſſurance that they would never be granted, yet I thought I would make tryall, but and if I had been impriſoned thereon, after I had given their Lordſhips that *Fob*, you ſhould have heard from me with a witneſſe; for I cannot ſuffer oppreſſion and be ſilent.

Sir excuſe my prolixity about this matter, for by reaſon of the rarity and the common condemnation thereof, I have therefore the more enlarged my ſelfe, for the better removall of all ſcruple thereon. Now Sir I ſhall further acquaint you with the mutuall proceedings betwixt the Goalers and me, and judge indifferently and impartially betwixt us.

Thus Sir, as *I* have told you, having declared my ſet reſolution to my attendant Goalers, away *I* was borne to the Boate, and when I was landed at *Black-Fryers*, they would have forced me along up the hill on my feete, yea, they intreated me, but at that time I was not minded to be their *DRVDG*, or to make uſe of my feet to carry the reſt of my body to the Goale, therefore I let them hang as if they had been none of my own, or like a couple of farthin Candles dangling at my knees, and after they had dragged me in that admire-able poſture a while, the one took me very reverently by the head, and the other as reverently by the feete, as if he had intended to have done Homage to His Holineſſes great Toe, and ſo they carried me: but truly Sir, I laughed at the conceit in my ſleeve. But this their reverend uſage did not continue long, for they grew verie irreverend and deboyſt of a ſudden, for ever when they were a little wearie, they let my bodie fall upon the ſtones, and then againe moſt vallarouſlie like men well appointed for the Cauſe, they tooke me by the head and ſhouldiers, and juſt as if I had been a dead Dog, they drag'd and trayl'd my body upon the ſtones, and without all reverence to my cloth, drew me through the dirt and mire, and plucked me by the hair of the head, juſt as if the Iohn of all Sir Johns had got little Martin by the feathers, notwithſtanding the peoples ſeverall exclamations againſt their inhumane incivility and tyrannie towards me, and heir ſeverall deſires to carrie me in a Chaire: And indeed n caſe I had been legallie their priſoner, yet had they no authoritie, to keepe me in evill cuſtodie, incivilie or inhumanely to uſe me, but were bound onely to keep me in ſafe cuſtody, and therein to uſe me like a man, and therefore in caſe they would not have ſo honoured me, as to have made me a Chairman, they might have carried me in a Porters Basket, or in a Cart, (provided it had not been Weſtward) or in ſome other ſuch decent neceſſary Toole, And in this like unheard of barbarous manner they brought me into the lower roome in *Newgate*; called the Lodge, and there they threw me down upon the Bords, and having Sir *Edward Cookes* 2. part inſtit. upon *Magna. Charta* the Mr. *Briſcoe* offered to wreſt it out of my hands: Then I demanded of him if he intended to *rob* me, and he told me he would have it from me whether I would or no.

To whom I replyed, that he ſhould not, if to the utmoſt of my power I could preſerve it from him, and I would do my utmoſt, whereupon I clapped it in my Armes, and I laid my ſelfe upon my belly, but by force, they violently turned me upon my back then *Briſcoe* (juſt as if he had been ſtaving off a Dog from the Beare) ſmote me with his fiſt, to make me let go my hold, whereupon as loud as I could, I cryed out, murther, murther, murther. And thus by an aſſault they got the great Charter of *Englands Liberties and Freedoms* from me; which I laboured to the utmoſt of power in me, to preſerve and defend, and ever to the death ſhall maintain, and forthwith without any warrant poore *Magna Charta* was clapt up cloſe priſoner in *Newgate*, and my poore fellow priſoner derived of the comfortable viſitation of friends: And thus being ſtript of my armour of proofe, the Charter of my legall Rights, Freedoms, and Liberties, after the aforeſaid barbarous manner they hurried me up into the common Goale, and as they carried me up ſtaires, as their cuſtome is, when they bring in a fellon, they gave 3. knocks at the door, and ſo they caſt me in o that Goale as a fellon, and then becauſe they would be ſure I ſhould have a paire of prerogativa fetters, they clapt 2. great Irons with a Chaine betwixt them upon my leggs, and Ile aſſure you, Sir, me thought they were the comlyeſt gingling Spurres that ever I wore in my life, and if your worſhip will be but pleaſed to travell with me to the Land of Liberty, come but and take horſe at *Newgate*, and you ſhall be furniſhed Ile warrant you, after the gallanteſt manner, and if need be for the conduct, we can raiſe up the Trained Bands of *Newgate*, even thouſands, and ten thouſands of lice to guard you: which indeed and in truth may too ſoone be the generall portion of all the beſt Members in the Houſe, if you be not active, vigulant, and faithfull to your friends.

And in thoſe Irons I continued that night and till the next day at evening, and then *Wolſton* the vice Maſter Goaler of *Newgate* ſent to me by one of his ſubſtitute Goalers, the Turn-key, to ſpeake with me below, to whom I returned this anſwer, go tell your maſter that I do not owe him ſo much ſervice, as to come downe to him to ſpeak with him in Irons, he knowes well enough where I am, if he have any buſineſſe with me let him come and ſpeak with me, and he came againe, and againe, with the like meſſage; and I returned the ſame anſwer: in the meane time one of his underling Goalers asked me if I would pay for my Irons, and then they ſhould be knocked off, but I told him, I neither ſet him a work to knock them on, neither would I ſet him a work to knock them off, and he that ſets you a work let him pay you your wages, for you ſhall not have a farthen of me, then departing and as I conceive, acquainting *Woolſton* therewith, he returned againe with his hammer in his hand, and told me, he muſt knock them off, and ſo he did: And when I came down to *Woleſton*, he would needs have made me believe, that I ſent to ſpeake with him, and to deſire him to take off my Irons, and to be removed to the Maſters ſide againe; but I told him no ſuch matters, for indeed that was farre from me, in thought, word, or deed: for I ſcorne to crouch or debaſe my Spirits to the lawleſſe cruelty of any mercileſſe tyrants or Goalers whatſoever: they may devoure my Carkaſe, and make that bend and break with their cruelty, but I truſt in God, that in heart and action to the umoſt of my power in the purſuance of juſtice and truth,

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I ſhall bid defiance to the laſt gaſpe of breath to all their oppreſſions and tyrannies whatſoever.

Now Sir, having diſcovered their oppreſſions and grievances againſt me, I ſhall now make bold to preſent this honorable Committee with the ſalvage and barbarous inhumanity exerciſed upon my Wife, and upon the reſt of my Family: Thus then be pleaſed further to conſider, that thoſe *Norman Prerogative-Invaders*, have not been herewith content thus to rob me in particular of my juſt liberty and freedome, and for theſe ſix moneths to incarcerate and corrode my perſon in their prerogative-devouring-jawes of *Newgate*, but to fil up the meaſure of their iniquity againſt me, they ſend forth their *Blood-hounds*, the Biſhops old Catch-poles, the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of *Stationers*, to ſurprize my wife and my brother, and to bring them up to their *Prerogative-Barre*, who for refuſing to be intangled and enſlaved to their *High-Commiſſion Star-chamber-bondage* of catching *Interrogatories*, were both upon the ſixth of this inſtant *January* 1646. committed by them to *Mayden-lane-priſon*. But being not therewith content, the next day, without all remorſe or compaſſion over my helpleſſe children, juſt as if they had intended to deſtroy me root and branch, they ſend forth their Catch-poles again to my houſe to fetch away my *Brother-in-law*, and my ſiſter (his wife) which, for their preſent neceſſity, were forced to live with me, and onely remained for the over-ſight, ordering and tendance of my three children in the abſence of their Father and Mother. But he being out of the way; & ſhe, by the great mercy of God, eſcaping their hands, (through their ignorance of her face) fled, & hid her ſelfe and ſome adjacent neighbours (touched with compaſſion and pitty over the poore, afflicted, deſtitute, helpleſſe children) took them, for the preſent, into their houſes; and ſo, *Father*, *Mother*, *Children*, and *All*, being *driven out of Houſe and home*, the *Doores were ſhut up*; and I, and mine, expoſed to utter ruine and confuſion by thoſe inſulting, domineering, mercileſſe Uſurpers and Tyrants, *The Houſe of Lords*.

But here, their moſt inhumane, tyrannicall deſires not ceaſing, out of the boundleſſe limits of their arbitrary domination, they *iſſue* forth yet another prerogative-order againſt my wife, not counting it miſerable and diſhonourable enough, that ſhe ſhould lye in the Goale at *Mayden-lane*, but, as much as in them lyes, for ever to obliterate the honour of her *modeſty, civility*, and *chaſtity*; they order, that ſhe ſhall be caſt into the moſt infamous Goale of *Bride-well*, that common Centre and receptacle of bauds, whores, and ſtrumpets, more fit for their wanton retrograde Ladies, then for one, who never yet could be taxed of immodeſty, *either in countenance, geſture, words, or action*.

Now, this order being brought to her by the City Marſhall to command her away to *Bride-well*, ſhe thereupon refuſed (as by Law ſhe was bound, as hath been proved befor this Honourable Committee in the caſe of Lieut: Coll. *Iohn Lilburne*, and of mine) to yeeld in the leaſt manner any ſubjection or obedience thereto, but to the utmoſt teſtimony of her weake power made oppoſition and reſiſtance againſt it, for in plain down-right termes (like a true bred Engliſhwoman brought up at the feet of *Gamaliel*) ſhe told the Marſhall that ſhe would not obey it, neither would ſhe ſtir after it, ſo much as to ſet one legg before another in attendance thereto: yet, Sir, this rejection and contempt here of the Lords uſurped juriſdiction was not uttered without all due reſpect and acknowledgment of your indubitable Authority, for ſhe told him, *that if he brought any Order or Warrant from the Houſe of Commons, ſhe would freely and willingly yeeld all humble obedience and ſubjection thereto*, which was as abſolute an evidence of her acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion unto *Englands* legitimate lawfull authority as the other was of defiance and contempt to all arbitrary uſurpation whatſoever.

Now the Gentleman Goaler hearing her reſolution and honeſt intentions for the freedoms of her Country, that rather then ſhe would yeeld any ſubjection or connivence to the arbitrary uſurpations of any, how great or powerfull ſoever, ſhe would expoſe her ſelfe to the mercileſſe cruelty of the whole Houſe of Norman-prerogative tyrants, I ſay no ſooner had this *Turky-cock Marſhall* heard of her uprightneſſe to the Commons of England, but up he briſled his feathers and looked as bigg and as bugg as a Lord, and in the height and ſcorne of deriſion (juſt as if he had been Speaker to the Houſe of *Peers pro tempore)* out he belched his fury and told her, that *if ſhe would not go, then ſhe ſhould be carried in a Porters Baſket, or elſe draged at a Carts Arſe.*

But ſhe modeſtly reply'd *that he might do as it ſeemed good unto him, for ſhe was reſolved on her courſe*, but thereat his worſhip being put into a prerogative chafe; out he *ſtruts* in his *Arbitrary Fury*, as if he would have forthwith leavied whole *Armies*, and *Droves* of *Porters* and *Carr-men*, to advance the poore little harmleſſe innecent woman and her tender Babe to *Bridewell*:

But going (as I conceive to conſult with their Lordſhips what was beſt to be done) he upon his returne finding her conſtant to her honeſt and juſt reſolutions, out againe he flings in his wonted fury, and finding ſome of her friends attending to ſee the event of the buſineſſe, he ſhut them out of the doores and abuſed them with infamous ſcurrilous reproaches, nicknames, and deriſions, with ſeverall menacies to impriſon them, threatning them to fetch a warrant to bring them before the now (preſent pretended illegall) Lord Mayor of *London*; but departing in that inſolent turbulent chafe, he ſent for a couple of Porters, but when they came to her, like honeſt & diſcreet men, they told him, that *they would not meddle with a woman that was with child, and had a young ſucking Infant in her Armes, leaſt in ſo doing they might doe that to day which they might anſwer for to morrow.*

Then the Marſhall thinking to bugbear them with the cracking ſound of the Houſe of Lords told them, that *the Lords had ordered that ſhe ſhould be carried to Bridewell*: but one of the Porters wiſely anſwered, *that their Lordſhips Order was for Goalers, and not for Porters to carry her, and for their parts, they would carry no quick fleſh, if he had any dead fleſh they would carry it*, and ſo they departed and left their Lordſhips prerogative drudgery to their prerogative vaſſals.

Then forth againe goes this their Lordſhips furious Champion with his prerogative Commiſſion of Array, to raiſe up new Forces to encounter this weak woman, and her tender Babe on her breaſt, and having leavied a Cart for the prerogative Warres of the Houſe of Peers, which being brought under the conduct of that moſt puiſſant Marſhall of *London* to the priſon Gate, the Car-man hearing what this beleagred woman was, wiſely refuſed to lay any hands on her, and departed in peace.

Then this grim Phyliſtin of the Houſe of Peers, being thus deſerted of his forraigne forces, muſtered up his Life Guard of Goalers ſervants, or hangmen Deputies, and therewith reſolved to ſtorme her, and advancing to her Chamber doore, firſt he attempted to circumvent her by his pollicy with fair, hypocriticall, ſpecious promiſes of his and their Lordſhips favour and grace, in caſe ſhe ſhould open the doore and ſubmit her ſelfe, but ſhe ſlighted his proffers, & contemned all favour flowing from that moſt bitter and corrupt prerogative Fountaine.

Whereupon he cauſed his men to break open the doore, and entring her Chamber, ſtruts towards her like a Crow in a gutter, and with his valiant lookes like a man of mettle aſſailes her and her Babe, and by violence attempt to pluck the tender Babe out of her Armes, but ſhe forcibly defended it, and kept it in deſpite of his Man-hood: then he and *Chriſtopher Marſhall* his brother *Sam: Tolſon*, and divers of his ſervants by the Marſhalls Command example & Authority laid violent hands upon her, and drag'd her down the ſtaires, and in that infamous barbarous manner, drew her headlong upon the ſtones in all the dirt and the mire of the ſtreetes, with the poore Infant ſtill crying and mourning in her Armes, whoſe life they ſpared not to hazard by that inhumain barbarous uſage, and all the way as they went, utterly to defame and render her infamous in the ſtreets, the fellowes which dragged and carried her on two Cudgels, calling her *Strumpet* and vild *Whore*, thereby to poſſeſſe the people, that ſhe was no woman of honeſt & godly Converſation, whom they ſo barbarouſly abuſed, but a vile ſtrumpet or whore, and were dragging to *Bridewell* that common ſhore & ſinke of Bauds & Whores, &c.

For no man could reaſonably imagin that any modeſt civill woman ſhould be ſo ſhamefully uſed, eſpecially in her way to *Bridewell*; which diſhonourable infamous uſage was a ſufficient matter to blaſt her reputation for ever, and to beget

get ſuch a perpetuall odium upon her, that for the future (if ever delivered from her bondage) ſhe ſhould not paſſe the ſtreetes upon her neceſſary occaſions any more without contumely and deriſion, ſcoffing, hiſſing, and poynting at her, with ſuch or the like ſayings, as, ſee, ſee, *there goes a Strumpet that was dragged through the ſtreetes to Bridewell,* and this is the honour that their Lordſhips are pleaſed to conferre on the free Commoners wives who ſtand for their Freedoms and Liberties.

A Charg againſt the houſe of Lords

Now Sir, I humbly deſire this Honourable Committee to conſider, whether it be reaſonable or ſufferable, or any wiſe ſutable to the freedoms of the Commons of *England*, or to the great truſt repoſed in you, either for you to ſuffer, or for them to uſurpe ſuch an unlimited prerogative juriſdiction, to deprive husbands of their wives, and wives of their husbands; Fathers and Mothers of their Children, and Children of their Fathers and Mothers; caſt them into ſeverall infamous tormenting priſons, hale and drag in moſt barbarous manner, the Commoners wives and their tender Infants upon the ſtones of the ſtreetes through all the dirt, and the mire, as if the Commoners, their wives and Children were but as dirt and mire under their Lordſhips feet, to be trod and trampled upon at their pleaſure; alſo to reproach, revile, and diſhonour modeſt, chaſte, and civill women with the imputation and ſcandall of whores, ſtrumpets, &c. expoſe whole families to ruine, rout them out of houſe and home, and inſtead of pitty and compaſſion over ſuch tender Infants whom they have made Orphants to their Arbitrary pleaſures to turne them (without all remorſe and compunction of heart) to the mercy of the wide world, and not in the leaſt to looke after them, take any charge or care over them, or to ſend them or their impriſoned Parents ſo much as a crum of bread, or a drop of pottage for their comfort or reliefe; but as much as in them lyes, to expoſe ſuch tender innocent babes with their parents to famin for want of ſuſtenance and reliefe, as alſo to ſend forth their armed men in an hoſtile manner, with muſquets, ſwords, piſtols, &c. to beſett and aſſault the Commoners Houſes; forcibly to enter their Bed-Chambers with drawn ſwords, and piſtols ready cocked, even while ſuch perſons are in their beds alſo dayly to commit Burglary, flat fellony, break in peeces the Commoners doores, burſt open their locks, their Trunks, Cheſts, Deſks, &c. pick their pockets, ranſacke their houſes, plunder, rob, ſteale, and felloniouſly beare away their proper goods and livelyhood, as alſo to ſhutt up ſuch as are moſt faithfull for the freedoms of the Commons of *England*, cloſe priſoners, deprive them of the benefit of pen, ink, and paper, of the comfortable countenance and viſitation of friends, tumble and toſſe them from Goale unto Goale, lay moſt unreaſonable fines upon them, as of 2000.l. or the like, ten times beyond the eſtate of perſons ſo fined, cenſure them to ſeven yeares impriſonment, endeavour to enforce the Commoners wives, to dip their hands in the blood of their huſbands, and to betray their friend and faithfull lovers of their Country into their mercileſſe hands, impoſe oathes upon ſervants to betray their Maſters Councels, and ſecrets, impriſon, fine, cenſure, and moleſt the Commoners of *England*, for their vindication and defence of the great Charter of their Liberties, and freedoms, for appealing from their uſurped juriſdiction to the Houſe of Com: and for refuſing to be againe entangled in the Star-Chamber High-Commiſſion aboliſhed Bondage of Interrogatories and the like; as alſo for thoſe Lords to overturne the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdom, both for liberty, property, and freedome, endeavouring the Introduction of an Arbitrary Government, and to cruſh and deſtroy all ſuch as ſhall adventure the diſcoverie of their oppreſſions or ſhall (as legally they are bound) reſiſt their arbitrary proceedings, ſtop all free progreſſe in the Law, commit the Compter Serjeants, and ſuch Miniſters of the Law unto priſon for arreſting their ſons or kindred for debt, and that by the authority of that Houſe, as a contempt offered thereto. All which inſufferable oppreſſions, and cruelties with manifold others, I can and will (God permitting) juſtifie and prove to their faces, if I ſhall be called thereto. And I do hereby, before this honourable Committee, and conſequently before the whole Commons of *England*, both repreſented and repreſentative, Charge the Houſe of Lords (which uſually aſſemble at *Weſtminſter* and which do arrogate unto themſelves a Parliamentarie title, and power without the free election and common conſent of the free borne people of *England*) with thoſe forementioned uſurpations and devaſtations of the Commoners Liberties and Freedoms: Which Charge I am ready everyday upon the peril of my vital blood to make good againſt them, for the caſe of Lieutenant Col. *Iohn Lilburne*, of Mr. *Learner*, of mine, & of ſome others, if but duly conſidered, is ſufficient to evidence and confirme the truth thereof to every common capacity, as alſo to their *Prerogative Lordſhips* everlaſting ſhame & confuſion of face, if not to the utter extirpation of that their unlimited Arbitrary Domination and power, the which I ſhall faithfully endeavour to the utmoſt of my power for the freedome and weale of the reſt of my Nationall Brethren the free borne Commons of England, though in that hot and deſperate ſervice I, and mine, wife, children and all be devoured by their unreaſonable cruelty.

Thus Sir having made my complaint unto you, and in mine, to this Honourable Committee, the complaint of the whole Commons of *England*, all being equally interreſted with me in this conteſt betwixt the Lords and the Commoners both in life, limb, liberty, and eſtate; I preſent my cauſe, and in mine, the cauſe of the whole Commons of *England* to your grave and judicious conſideration: for, looke what is done unto me or to any other (though never ſo meane or of inferiour degree) for mine or their vindication and maintenance of the juſt Rights and freedoms of the Commons of *England*, is as done unto the whole Commons of *England*, for by thoſe their inſultings all as well as one, are made lyable to the unlimited cruelty and oppreſſion of their prerogative juriſdiction. And if they may rule by prerogative, then farwell all liberty and property!, all Lawes, juſtice, and equity; and if it muſt be ſo, I pray you beare us no longer in ſuſpence and expection of redreſſe, but forthwith let our Doom be proclaimed to the whole world, that the Commons of *England* may know what to truſt to; that we may looſe our labour no longer in petitioning, appealing, complaining, and ſeeking for reliefe at your hands, that ſuch as will may ſit down as contented ſlaves with halters about their necks to be hanged up till the pleaſure of that Houſe (forſooth) ſhall be further ſignified.

Now Sir, I ſhall uſe no other provocations, incitations or Arguments to this Honourable Committee, to the diſcharge of their duty, but ſhall altogether leave the whole matter hereof to your conſciences, whether for juſtice or injuſtice, mercy or cruelty; for my part I care not though you and all men forſake me, ſo long as I know the Lord liveth, who will once judge every man according to his deeds, whether good or evel, and then I am ſure I ſhall have righteous judgment, without reſpect of perſons; and againſt that, to deprive me thereof, neither the gates of Hell nor the powers of Earth are able to prevaile; that is my comfort, my hope and ſupport, againſt all afflictions tryalls, and troubles: And therefore in that ſure confidence though I be thus enthralled & encompaſſed on every ſide with Bands & Afflictions, I am reſolved not to yeeld an haires-bredth of ſubjection, no, not ſo much, as the appearance of ſubjection either in word or deed to any arbitrary power, orders, ſignifications of their pleaſures, &c. *maugre* their Priſons, Irons, Halters, &c. either for me or mine: And this I pronounce to this Honourable Committee and to the whole Commons of England in open defyance and contempt of the Arbitrary Domination of the Houſe of Peers, their uſurpation and incroachments over the Rights and freedoms of the Commons of *England*; come what come will, or what the utmoſt of their uſurped might and power can inflict upon me for it,

I ſcorne their mercy, and dare them to do their worſt: let them find Priſons, Dungeons, Irons, Halters, &c. Ile find Carkeſſe, Neck, and Heeles, for one in contempt to their uſurped juriſdiction; for reſolved I am to break before I bend to their oppreſſions, &c. Sir I am

From Newgate the place
of my Prerogative Captivity. Feb. 1. 1647.

Yours and all mens for
their juſt Rights and
Freedoms, faithfull, to the
death.

Richard Overton.

FINIS.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THIS NATION, THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

1647

The so-called large petition of the Levellers of 1647 was published anonymously without license, date, imprint or separate title-page. The date of publication remains uncertain. There appears in the Thomason Collection a brief tract called *Gold Tried in the fire*, dated by Thomason, June 14, 1647. This seems to have been written by Walwyn and to have been intended as a preface to the publication of the Leveller petitions which had just been condemned by Parliament. The petitions themselves, however, are lacking. The large petition appears in the Thomason Collection as a separate item, dated by Thomason, September 19. This has been assigned in the Thomason Catalogue to the year 1648. At that time, the petition appears to have been presented again in somewhat different form. It was published in that form, together with a hostile reply, in *Some Observations on the late Dangerous Petition* (September 19), 1648. Another edition of the revised petition appears in the Thomason Collection with the date, September 11. The text of the petition, in what would appear to have been its original form, is here reproduced from the copy in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum, dated by Thomason, September 19. For Walwyn's connection with the authorship of the petition, see Volume I, pages 115 ff.

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To the right Honourable and ſupreme Authority of this Nation, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled.

The humble Petition of many thouſands, earneſtly deſiring the glory of God, the freedome of the Common-wealth, and the peace of all men.

7br. 14

Sheweth,

THat no Government is more juſt in the Conſtitution, then that of Parliaments, having its foundation in the free choice of the People, and as the end of all government is the ſafety and freedome of the governed, even ſo the people of this Nation in all times have manifeſted moſt hearty affections unto Parliaments, as the moſt proper remedies of their grievances, yet ſuch hath been the wicked pollicy of thoſe who from time to time have indeavoured to bring this Nation into bondage, that they have in all times, either by the diſuſe or abuſe of Parliaments, deprived the people of their hopes; for teſtimony whereof, the late times foregoing this Parliament will ſadly witneſſe, when 'twas not only made a crime to mention a Parliament, but either the pretended Negative voice (the moſt deſtructive to freedome) or a ſpeedy diſſolution blaſted the fruit and benefit thereof, whileſt the whole Land was overſpread with all kind of oppreſſion and tyranny, extending both to ſoule and body, and that in ſo rooted and ſetled a way, that the complaint of the people in generall witneſſed, that they would have given any thing in the world for one ſix moneths freedome of Parliament. which hath been ſince evidenced in their inſtant and conſtant readineſſe of aſſiſtance to this preſent Parliament, exceeding the Records of all former ages, and wherein God hath bleſſed them with their firſt deſires, making this Parliament moſt free and abſolute of any Parliament that ever was; and inabling it with *power ſufficient to deliver the whole Nation from all kind of oppreſſion and grievance though of never ſo long continuance and to make it the moſt abſolute and free nation in the world.*

And it is moſt thankefully acknowledged, that you have in order to the freedome of the people, ſuppreſſed the High-Commiſſion, Star-Chamber, and Councell Table, called home the baniſhed, delivered ſuch as were impriſoned for matters of conſcience, and brought ſome Delinquents to deſerved puniſhment; that you have ſuppreſſed the Biſhops and popiſh Lords, aboliſhed Epiſcopacy, and that kind of prelatick and perſecuting government, that you have taken away Ship-money, and all new illegall Patents whereby the hearts of all the well-affected were inlarged, and filled with a confident hope, that they ſhould have ſeen long ere this a compleat removall of all grievances, and the whole people delivered from all oppreſſion over ſoule or body. But ſuch is our miſery, that after the expence of ſo much precious time, blood, and treaſure, and the ruine of ſo many thouſands of honeſt Families, in recovering our liberty. Wee ſtill find the Nation oppreſſed with grievances of the ſame deſtructive nature as formerly, though under other notions, and which are ſo much the more grievous unto us, becauſe they are inflicted in the very time of this preſent Parliament under God) the hope of the oppreſſed; For as then all the men and women in England, *were made liable to the Summons, Attachments, Sentences and impriſonments of the Lords of the Councell boord, ſo wee find by wofull experience, and the ſuffering of many particular perſons, that the preſent Lords doe aſſume and exerciſe the ſame power, then which nothing can be more repugnant and deſtructive to the Commons juſt liberty. As then the unjuſt power of the Starchamber was exerciſed in compelling men and women to anſwer to interrogatories tending to accuſe themſelves and others, ſo is the ſame now frequently practiſed upon divers perſons, even your cordiall friends, that have been, and ſtill are puniſhed for refuſing to anſwer queſtions againſt themſelves, and neereſt relations. As then the great oppreſſion of the High-Commiſſion, was moſt evident in moleſting of godly peaceable people for non-conformity, or different opinion, or practice in religion, in judging all who were contrary-minded to themſelves, to bee Hereticks, Sectaries, Schiſmatiques ſeditious, factious, enemies to the State, and the like; and under great penalties forbidding all perſons not licenſed by them to preach or publiſh the Goſpell; even ſo now at this day, the very ſame, if not greater moleſtations are ſet on foot and* *violently proſecuted by the inſtigation of a Clergy, no more infallible then the former, to the extreme diſcouragement & affliction of many thouſands of your faithfull adherents, who are not ſatisfied that controverſies in religion can be truſted to the compulſive regulation of any, & after the Biſhops were ſuppreſſed, did hope never to have ſeen ſuch a power aſſumed by any in this Nation any more. And although all new illegall Patents are by you aboliſhed, yet the oppreſſive Monopoly of Merchant adventurers, and others do ſtill remain, to the great abridgement of the liberty of the people, and to the extream prejudice of all ſuch induſtrious people, as doe depend on Clothing or woollen manufacture, it being the ſtaple commodity of this Kingdom and Nation, and to the great diſcouragement and diſadvantage of all ſorts of Tradeſ-men, Seafaring-men, and hinderance of Shipping, and Navigation. Alſo the old tedious and chargeable way of deciding Controverſies, or ſuits in law is continued to this day, to the extreme vexation, and utter undoing of multitudes of Families (a grievance as great and palpable as any in the world) that old and moſt unequall puniſhment of malefactors, is ſtill continued whereby mens lives and liberties are as liable to the lawes corporall paines as much inflicted for ſmall, as for great offences, and that moſt, moſt unjuſtly upon the teſtimony of one Witneſſe, contrary both to the law of God and common equity (a grievance very great) but little regarded; And alſo Tithes and other inforced maintenance are ſtill continued, though there be no ground for either under the Goſpel, and though the ſame have occaſioned multitudes of ſuits, quarrells and debates both in former and latter times. In like manner multitudes of people, poore diſtreſſed priſoners for debt, lye ſtill unregarded, in a moſt miſerable and wofull condition throughout the Land, to the great reproach of this Nation; Likewiſe Priſon-keepers or Jaylors are as preſumptuous as ever they were both in receiving and detaining of priſoners, illegally committed, as cruell and inhumane to all, eſpecially to ſuch as are well-affected, as oppreſſive and extorting in their Fees, and are attended with under Officers of ſuch vile and unchriſtian demeanour as is moſt abominable; Alſo thouſands of men and women are permitted to live in beggery and wickedneſſe all their life long, and to breed their children to the ſame idle and vitious courſe of life, and no effectuall meanes uſed to reclaime either, or to reduce them to any vertue or induſtry.*

And laſt as thoſe who found themſelves agrieved formerly at the burdens and oppreſſions of thoſe times, that did not conforme to the Church *government then eſtabliſhed, refuſed to pay Ship-mony, or yeild obedience to unjuſt Patents, were reviled and reproached with Nick-names of Puritans, Hereticks; Schiſmaticks, Sectaries, or were termed factious or ſeditious, men of turbulent ſpirits, deſpiſers of government, and diſturbers of the publike peace; even ſo it is at this day, in all reſpects with thoſe, that ſhew any ſenſibility of the fore-recited grievances, or move in any manner or meaſure, for remedy thereof, all the reproaches, evills, and miſchiefs that can be deviſed, are thought too few, or too little to be layd upon them, as Round-heads, Sectaries, Independants, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, factions, ſeditious, Rebellions, diſturbers of the publike peace: deſtroyers of all civill relations, and ſubordinations, yea, and beyond what was formerly, non-conformity is now judged a ſufficient cauſe to diſable any perſon (though of known fidelity) from bearing any offices of truſt in the Common-wealth, whiles Neuters, malignant and diſaffected, are admitted and countenanced; and though it be not now made a crime to mention a Parliament, yet it is little leſſe to mention the ſupreme power of this Honourable Houſe, ſo that in all theſe reſpects this Nation remaines, in a very ſad and diſconſolate condition and the more, becauſe it is thus with us, after ſo long a Seſſion of ſo powerfull, and ſo free a Parliament, and hath been ſo made and maintained by the abundant love, and liberall effuſion of the blood of the people, and therefore knowing no danger nor thraldome, like unto our being left in this ſo ſad a condition by the Parliament, and obſerving that you are now drawing the great and weighty affaires of this Nation to ſome concluſion, and fearing that ere long you may be obſtructed, by ſomething equally evill to a Negative voice, and that you may be induced to lay by your ſtrength, which under God hath hitherto made you powerfull to all good workes, whileſt we have yet time to hope, and you power to helpe, and leſt by our ſilence we might be guilty of that ruine and ſlavery, which without your ſpeedy help, is like to fall upon us, your ſelves and the whole Nation, we have preſumed to ſpread our cauſe thus plainly, and largely before you and doe moſt earneſtly intreat that you will ſtir up your affections to a zealous love, and tender regard of the people, who have choſen and truſted you, that you will ſeriouſly conſider that the end of your truſt was freedome and deliverance from all kind of grievances and oppreſſions.*

1 And that therefore in the firſt place you will be exceeding carefull to preſerve your juſt Authority from all prejudices of a Negative

voice in any perſon or perſons whatſoever, which may diſable you, from making that happy returne unto the people which they juſtly expect, and that you will not be induced to lay by your ſtrength till you have ſatisfied your underſtandings in the undoubted ſecurity of your ſelves, and of thoſe who have voluntarily, and faithfully adhered to you in all your extremities, and untill you have ſecured and ſetled the Common-wealth in ſetled peace, and true freedome, which is the end of the primitive inſtitution of all government.

2 Secondly, that you will take off all ſentences, fines, and impriſonments impoſed on Commoners by any whomſoever, without due courſe of Law, or judgement of their equalls, and to give due reparations to all thoſe who have been ſo injuriouſly dealt withall, and for preventing the like for the time to come, that you will enact all ſuch arbitrary proceedings, to be Capitall crimes.

3 Thirdly, that you permit no authority whatſoever to compell any perſon or perſons, to anſwer to any queſtions againſt themſelves or neereſt relations, except in caſes of private intereſt between party and party in a legall way, and to releaſe ſuch as ſuffer by impriſonment, or otherwiſe, for refuſing to anſwer to ſuch interrogatories.

4 Fourthly, that all Statutes, Oathes, and Covenants may be repealed ſo farre as they tend, or may be conſtrued to the moleſtation and inſnaring of religious peaceable and well affected people, for non-conformity or difference of opinion, or practice in religion.

5 Fifthly, that no man for preaching or publiſhing his opinion in Religion, in a peaceable way, may be puniſhed or perſecuted as hereticall, by Judges that are not infallible, but may be miſtaken as well as other men in their judgements, leſt upon pretence of ſuppreſſing errors, Sects or Schiſmes, the moſt neceſſary truths, and ſincere profeſſions thereof may be ſuppreſſed, as upon the like pretence it hath been in all ages.

6 Sixthly, that you will for the incouragement of induſtrious people, diſſolve that oppreſſive company of Merchant-Adventurers, and the like, and prevent all ſuch others by great penalties for ever.

7 Seventhly, that you will ſettle a juſt, ſpeedy, plain, and unburdenſom way for deciding of Controverſies, and ſuits in Law, and reduce all lawes, to the neereſt agreement with Chriſtianity, and publiſh them in the Engliſh tongue, and that all proceſſe and proceedings

therein, may be true, and alſo in Engliſh, and in the moſt uſuall Character of writing, without any abreviation, that each one who can read, may the better underſtand their owne affaires, and that the duties of all Judges, Officers, and practiſers in the Law, and of all Magiſtrates and Officers in the Common-wealth, may be preſcribed, their fees limited under ſtrict penalties, and publiſhed in Print, to the knowledge and view of all men, by which juſt and equitable meanes, this Nation ſhall be for ever freed of an oppreſſion, more burdenſome and troubleſome then all the oppreſſions hitherto by this Parliament removed.

8 Eighthly, that the life of no perſon may be taken away under the teſtimony of two witneſſes at leaſt, of honeſt converſation, and that in an equitable way you will proportion puniſhment to offences, ſo that no mans life be taken away, his body puniſhed, nor his eſtate forfeited, but upon ſuch weighty and conſiderable cauſes, as juſtly deſerve ſuch puniſhment, and that all priſoners may have a ſpeedy tryall, that they be neither ſtarved nor their Families ruined by long and lingring impriſonment, and that impriſonment may be uſed only for ſafe cuſtody untill time of tryall, and not as a puniſhment for offences.

9 Ninthly, that tythes, and all other inforced maintenances, may be for ever aboliſhed, and nothing in place thereof impoſed, but that all Miniſters may be payd only by thoſe who voluntarily chooſe them, and contract with them for their labours.

10 Tenthly, that you will take ſome ſpeedy and effectuall courſe, to relieve all ſuch priſoners for debt as are altogether unable to pay, that they may not periſh in priſon through the hard-heartedneſſe of their Creditors, and that all ſuch who have any eſtates, may be inforced to make payment accordingly, and not ſhelter themſelves in priſon to defraud their Creditors.

11 Eleventhly, that none may be Priſon-keepers, but ſuch as are of approved honeſty, and that they be prohibited under great penalties, to receive or detaine any perſon or perſons without lawfull warrant, that their uſage of Priſoners may be with gentleneſſe and civility, their fees moderate and certaine, and that they may give ſecurity for the good behaviour of their under officers.

12 Twelfthly, that you will provide ſome powerfull meanes to keepe men, women, and children from begging and wickedneſſe,

that this Nation may be no longer a ſhame to Chriſtianity therein.

13 Thirteenthly, that you will reſtraine and diſcountenance the malice, and impudency of impious perſons in their reviling, and reproaching the well-affected with the ignominious titles of Roundheads, factious, ſeditious, and the like, whereby your reall friends have been a longtime, and ſtill are exceedingly wronged, diſcouraged, and made obnoxious to rude and prophane people, and that you will not exclude any of approved fidelity, from bearing offices of truſt in the Common-wealth for Non-conformity, but rather Neuters, and ſuch as manifeſt diſaffection or oppoſition to common freedome, the admiſſion and continuation of ſuch, being the chiefe cauſe of all our grievances. Theſe Remedies, or what other ſhall ſeeme more effectuall in your grave wiſdomes, we humbly pray may be ſpeedily applied, and that in doing thereof you will be confident of the aſſiſtance of your Petitioners, and of all conſiderate well-minded people, to the utmoſt of their beſt abilities againſt all oppoſition whatſoever, looking upon our ſelves, as more concerned now at laſt to make a good end, then at the firſt to have made a good beginning, for what ſhall it profit us, or what remedy can we expect, if now after ſo great troubles and miſeries this Nation ſhould be left by this Parliament, in ſo great a thraldome both of body, mind, and eſtate; Wee beſeech you therefore, that withall your might, whileſt you have time, freedome and power, ſo effectually to fulfill the true ends of Parliaments in delivering this Nation, from theſe, and all other grievances, that none may preſume or dare to introduce the like for ever; And we truſt the God of your good ſucceſſe, will manifeſt the ſincerity of our intentions herein, and that our humble deſires are ſuch, as tend not only to our owne particular, but to the generall good of the Common-wealth, and proper for this honourable houſe to grant, without which this Nation cannot be ſafe or happy; And that he will bleſſe you with true Chriſtian fortitude, ſuitable to the truſt and greatneſſe of the worke you have undertaken, and make the memory of this Parliament bleſſed to all ſucceeding generations.

Shall ever be the prayer of your humble Petitioners.

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